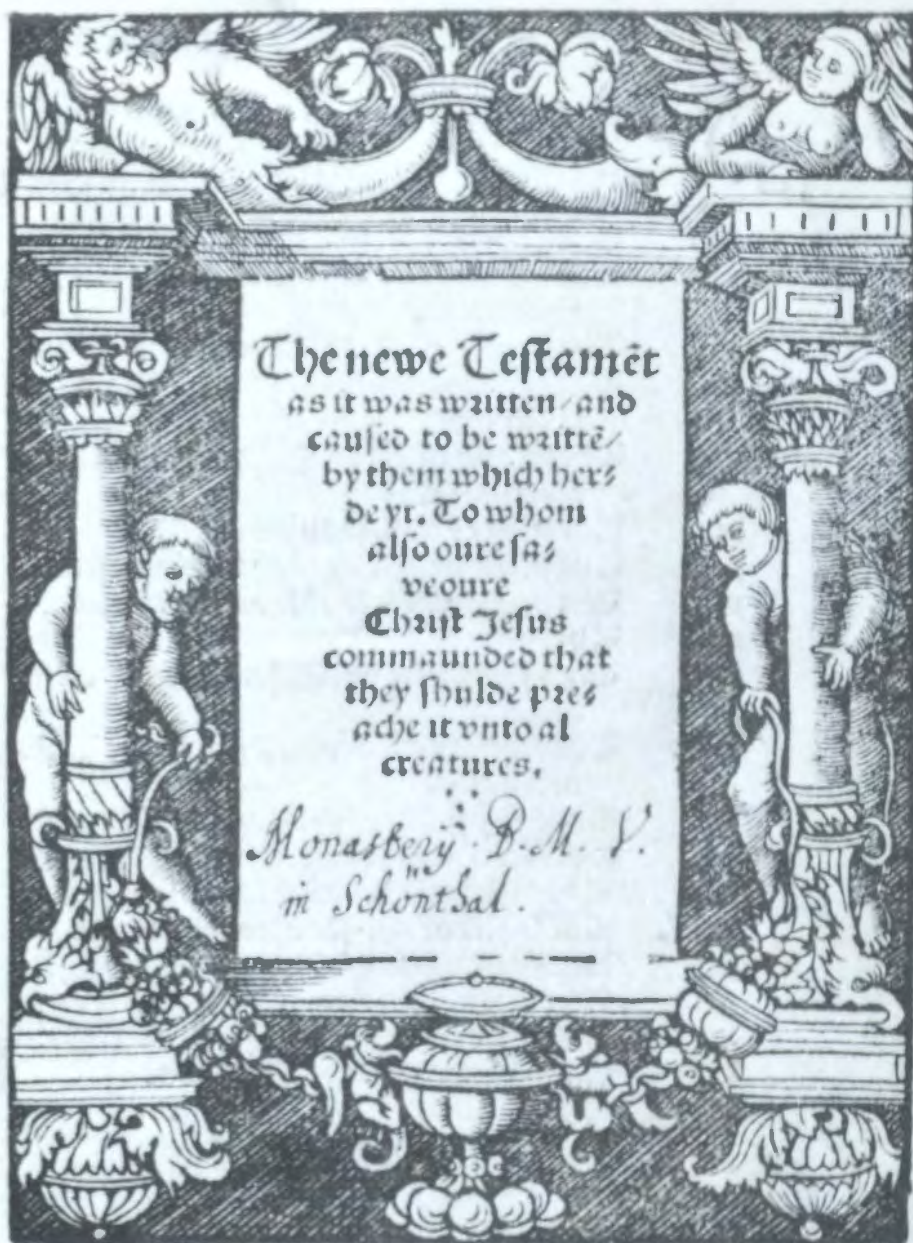


REFORMATION



VOLUME TWO, 1997

David V. N. Bagchi • Warren Boutcher • Christopher J. Bradshaw
Brian Cummings • Susan M. Felch • Morna D. Hooker • David Norton
Anne M. O'Donnell • Robert Peters • Carsten Peter Thiede



The only surviving title page of Tyndale's first, 1526, New Testament, from the recently discovered third copy. (See "Good News from Stuttgart," p. 1.)

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VOLUME TWO



1997

A PUBLICATION OF THE TYNDALE SOCIETY



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Editorial

The success of our first number of REFORMATION a year ago has greatly encouraged us.

It was with sadness that we received in the summer of 1996 the resignation of Professor Gerald Hammond as editor, through pressure of duties. The editorial team, however, is now complete: the associate editors for subjects, and the advisors, are listed on a previous page. They have been active in forwarding material, and for this second number we have had difficult choices to make from a rich crop of submissions. It was always our aim to be wide in our fields, roughly between 1450 and 1600; that breadth is reflected in this second number.

We are extremely fortunate in having secured as permanent editor, from REFORMATION 3, Andrew Hope of Christ Church Oxford. He is an Early Modern historian of distinction, and under him the journal will rise to great heights. With some assistance from him, this second number, however, had perforce to be put together, again, by me. Earlier versions of the papers by David Bagchi, Christopher Bradshaw, Stephen Buick, Brian Cummings, Anne O'Donnell, Morna Hooker, Orlaith O'Sullivan, Robert Peters, Kimberly Van Kampen, and Vivienne Westbrook were given at various Tyndale Society conferences. The paper by Carsten Peter Thiede was the Third Lambeth Tyndale Lecture, in October 1996, and is reproduced by kind permission of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

As we were going to press, the news reached us of the important discovery of a third copy of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament in Stuttgart. We were able, even so late in the day, to arrange for a brief account of its history, and importance, by Dr Mervyn Jannetta, head of Anglish Antiquarian collections at the British Library: and to reproduce the hitherto unknown title page.

I want to express my thanks to two organisations in particular. All copy-editing, design, and production of REFORMATION, from this

number and in the future, is being done by Linda Hunter Adams and her students at the Humanities Publications Center at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. The combination there of very high standards indeed, and generosity, means a great deal to us.

The research library, The Scriptorium in Grand Haven, Michigan, has most generously agreed to donate an annual sum to REFORMATION. This farsighted kindness has assured the future of the journal. We are especially grateful.

—David Daniell

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Good News from Stuttgart:

A Previously Unrecorded Copy of the 1526 Worms Edition of William Tyndale's New Testament Translation

Mervyn Jannetta
British Library

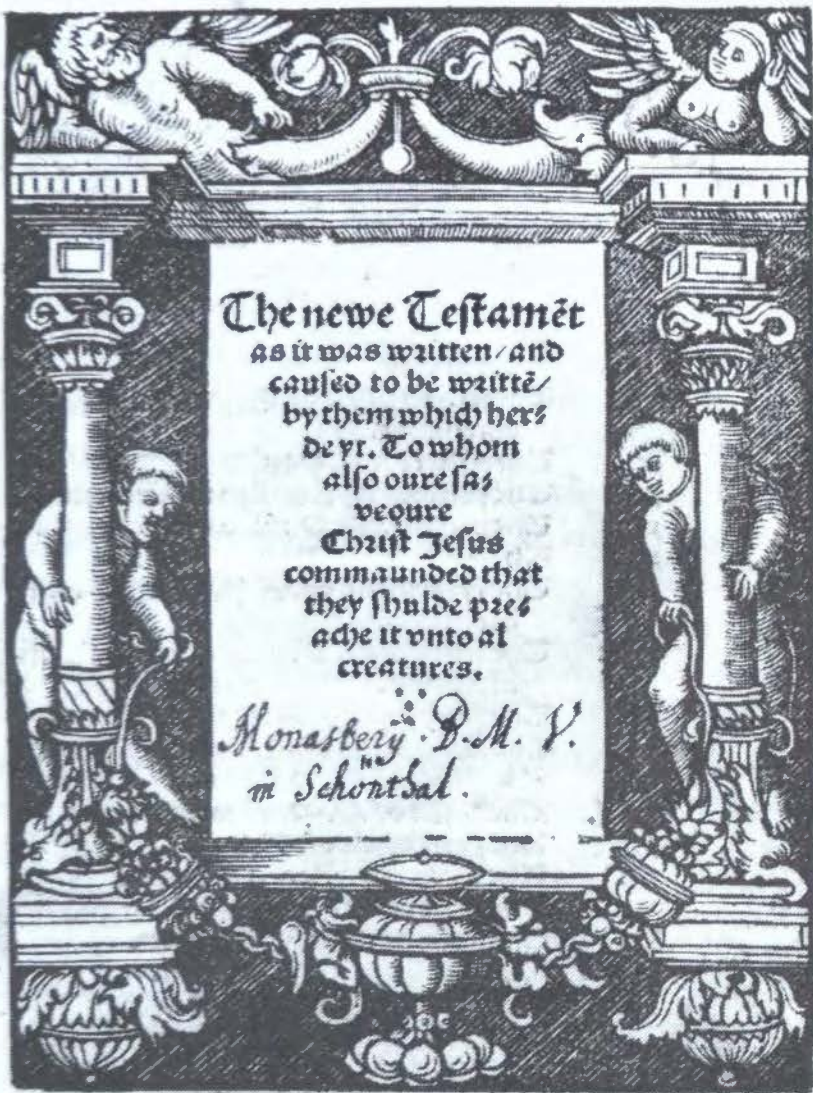
The Bibelsammlung in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek has been renowned for its riches since its foundation in the eighteenth century. The British Museum Library under Anthony Panizzi looked enviously at Stuttgart's holdings and set out to build a Bible collection worthy of the national library. However, it was not until 1994 that the British Library set the jewel in its collections of early English Bibles with the acquisition of the Bristol Baptist College copy of the first complete printing of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. The growth of the Bibelsammlung has continued, albeit at a more modest pace, during this period. Most recently it has been engaged in a project to re-catalogue and computerize records for its collection of early English Bibles and in the process has discovered a jewel that has lain without recognition for some two hundred years: a perfect copy of the 1526 Tyndale New Testament.

The history of the British Library copy is well documented back to its identification in the 1740s; before that nothing is known of its provenance. The copy found in Stuttgart has a longer, more complex history, which goes far to explain why it had not previously been reported.

Its first recorded (and probably first) owner was the Elector Ottheinrich (Otto Heinrich, 1502–1559) of the Palatinate. A humanist who converted to Protestantism, Ottheinrich helped found the library at Heidelberg, which would grow to become the Bibliotheca Palatina. As spoils from the Thirty Years' War, the Palatina was seized in 1623,

The only surviving title page of Tyndale's first, 1526, New Testament, from the recently discovered third extant copy, printed by Peter Schoeffer at Worms in a print run of either 3,000 or 6,000. The design is not special: the border is found in other books printed by Schoeffer at the time. As expected, there is no mention of Tyndale. In its direct simplicity it gives the authority ('by them which heard it') and the thrust ('our saviour Christ Jesus commanded') of the Gospel. The wording was closely imitated by George Joye in his unauthorised piracies of this testament eight years later, attacked by Tyndale in his second prologue to his 1534 New Testament. (Scale in centimetres).

Reproduced by kind permission of the Director of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.



The newe Testamēt

as it was witten / and
caused to be writtē
by them which hers
de yr. To whom
also oure sa
veoure
Christ Iesus
commaunded that
they shulde pres
ache it vnto al
creatures.

Monasberij. D. M. V.
in Schontal.



presented to the Pope, and the books moved to the Biblioteca Vaticana. Ottheinrich books now in the Vatican are readily identifiable in their fine contemporary bindings, bearing the owner's gold-stamped portrait on the front, his arms on the back cover.

Some items must have migrated before 1623, however, for more than a few volumes in Ottheinrich bindings are found in collections outside the Vatican—including the Tyndale now in Stuttgart. The Tyndale binding (now rather worn and lacking the metal corner-pieces) is stamped with the date 1550. A manuscript note on the title page records ownership by the Cistercian abbey of Schönthal, SW Germany. Further research may show at what date before the Heidelberg library was moved to Rome this volume entered Schönthal.

After secularization in 1810/11, the Schönthal collections including the Tyndale became the property of the Württemberg State Library. Library stamps and old shelfmarks in the Tyndale indicate that it was amongst the fine and rare volumes selected for retention in King Friedrich I's private library (Handbibliothek). The next king, Wilhelm I, presented the newly founded Wilhelmstift (the Catholic Faculty) at the University of Tübingen with all the theological and religious books from the Handbibliothek.

These books (the Tyndale unnoticed amongst them) remained at Tübingen until 1935, when they were moved back to Stuttgart. At this stage the Tyndale was entered in the Bibelsammlung's manuscript handlist of early Bibles and assigned to 1550 on the basis of the dated binding. The Ottheinrich bindings were listed in two articles in the 1950s, but only now have questions relating to translator, printer, place and date of publication been pursued and resolved.

The discovery of a third copy of the 1526 translation, undisturbed in its original sixteenth-century binding, and moreover complete with its titleleaf, adds significantly to the fund of materials available to students of William Tyndale and of the English Bible. Now it is possible to confirm how Tyndale chose to present to the public the first fruits of his labours as a translator—anonously (as was always assumed), and with an oblique but still tangible swipe in the wording of the title page at those authorities who sought to limit the spread of the Gospels by prohibiting translation. With a second complete copy, it will now also be possible to make a full textual collation, to discover whether

variants exist, to learn more of the printing history of the volume, and perhaps even to deduce how closely the translator may have worked with his printer.

The foregoing includes information kindly provided by Dr Eberhard Zwink of the WLB Stuttgart. Dr Zwink is preparing for publication a full account of the discovery and earlier history of the Stuttgart copy.

Curing the Soul:

Anne Lock's Authorial Medicine

Susan M. Felch

Calvin College

Recently scholarly interest has begun to converge upon the work of Anne Vaughan Lock, a sixteenth-century poet, translator, and apologist who belonged to the merchant and non-conformist communities of London. Anne was the daughter of Stephen Vaughan, a financial agent for Henry VIII, and Margaret (or Margery) Guinet, silkwoman to the Tudor court. Her first husband was Henry Lock, a London mercer. During their marriage Lock became acquainted with John Knox (with whom she exchanged a series of letters), spent eighteen months in exile in Geneva with her small children but without her husband, and published her first book in 1560. Following Henry Lock's death, Anne married Edward Dering, a prominent nonconformist preacher who was examined by the Star Chamber in 1573. Dering died in 1576, just three years after the marriage, and Anne remarried, this time to Richard Prowse of Exeter, a man of considerable prominence. She published her second book in 1590.

As interest has begun to shift from Lock's life to her work,¹ primary attention is being devoted to the sonnet sequence on Psalm 51, which concludes her 1560 volume. Yet the difficulty of certifying that the poems are Lock's own work suggests we should give equal consideration to analysing the works that are certainly hers, namely the two dedicatory epistles that introduce the 1560 *Sermons of John Calvin* and the 1590 *Of the markes of the children of God*.²

In this article, I wish to concentrate on the 1560 epistle addressed to Katharine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, who was a fellow Marian exile. This dedicatory letter develops a familiar religious conceit: the

soul, diseased by sin and oppressed by despair, can be healed only through the action of a heavenly physician who offers the medicine of God's good word. As we examine Lock's lexical choices, rhetorical strategies, and involvement in the publication of her book, however, we see that the epistle does more than present familiar imagery: it gives us insights into Lock's role as a nonconformist woman writer of the mid-sixteenth century. Two characteristics are particularly noticeable: First, the epistle shows a confident authorial hand in its overall design and in its use of affective language and sensual images. Unable as a woman to hold an official position either in the state or in the Church, Lock betrays no sense of powerlessness in her written words. Second, Lock combines 'things both old and new' in this epistle. Despite her unswerving commitment to newer Protestant and anti-Papist sentiments, she is anything but iconoclastic. In both her allegorical use of biblical materials and conservative rhetoric, Lock remains firmly embedded in the venerable tradition of English devotional writings. Yet, at the same time, she demonstrates an easy familiarity with the most advanced medical ideas of her day, as well as a determination to look encouragingly into the future of a new England, made spiritually healthy by the application of true doctrine.

Sermons of John Calvin

Sermons of John Calvin was entered on the Stationers' Register on 15 January 1560 and printed that same year by John Day in London. The dedicatory epistle is followed by a translation of Calvin's four sermons on Isaiah 38, which Lock undoubtedly heard preached in November 1557 while she was living in Geneva. The volume concludes with the sequence of twenty-six sonnets on Psalm 51.³ Only two copies of this edition are known, one at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. (F) and the other at the British Library in London (L).⁴ The latter includes an inscription in an English hand imitating *italianate cancellaresca* which reads '*Liber Henrici Lock ex dono Anna uxoris sua. 1559*'.⁵ Although there are variants between the two copies, none, other than the slippage of an *s* in the catchword on A2^r in L, occur in the epistle. A second edition was printed in 1574, also by John Day, but the single surviving copy, held by the British Museum, was destroyed during the Second World War. Citations in the *OED*,

the only witness to this edition, indicate no substantive alterations in the text.

Lexical Choices

Lock's choice of vocabulary is, in many ways, unremarkable. As befits an author dedicated to the reformed cause, she consistently employs words favoured by the Protestant writers who preceded her. Roman Catholics are 'papistes' who abandon the clear teaching of God's word for 'superfluous workes' and 'devised service' (A4^V–A5^r), while Protestants are 'trewe belevyng Christians' (A4^r) or 'th'elect' (A4^V) who find their hope in 'Gods holye testament' (A6^r) and his 'eternall decree' (A7^r). On the other hand, a single lexical choice alerts us to the fact that even ardent nonconformity flowed in channels that were deeply hewn by the traditional religion of the English medieval church. As Lock describes the horror of a soul cast into hell through misplaced trust in papistical doctrine, she alludes to the parable of the rich man and Lazarus recorded in Luke 16:19–31: 'they which taught him to trust of salvation by mans devises have set his burnyng hert in that place of flames, where th'everlasting Chaos suffreth no droppe of Godes mercye to descende' (A5^r). 'Chaos' comes from the Vulgate's translation of verse 26 (*chaos magnum*) in which Abraham, speaking of the unbridgeable breach between heaven and hell, tells the rich man that Lazarus is unable to offer him even a drop of water. The English versions variously translate the Greek *mega chasma* as 'derke place' (Wyclif), 'greate space' (Tyndale), 'great gulfe' (Geneva; 'swallowing pit' is the marginal reading). None of them follow the Vulgate by using the term *chaos*. Although this particular echoing of the Vulgate focuses our attention on Lock's heritage, it is not an isolated example. Most of the epistle, with the exception of the anti-Catholic sentiments, stands firmly within the patristic and medieval tradition of exhortation.

If Lock's religious vocabulary reflects that of a nonconformist molded by the Catholic Christian tradition, her medical vocabulary is impressively up-to-date. The entire dedicatory epistle develops the conceit of a diseased mind restored to health through the action of the heavenly physician. While the notion that good words provide good medicine was an ancient trope, both classical and biblical, Lock's

reworking of this material shows a knowledge not just of conventional formulations but of recent medical developments as well. The most striking example of this awareness occurs in her discussion of scorpion's oil. Alluding to the fact that God both causes and cures spiritual disease, she remarks that 'beyng stong with the stinge of the scorpion [the believer] knoweth howe with oyle of the same scorpion to be healed agayne' (A5^v). This brief comment embraces numerous traditions, including Pliny's observation, frequently reiterated, that a scorpion's sting can be cured only by recourse to the same 'insect' and Augustine's comment on Numbers 21:4–9 that God cured 'death by death' by means of the brass serpent.⁶ The more immediate source of Lock's observation, however, is probably the unusual emblem of the 1557 Geneva Psalter's title page, which shows a skull sporting a palm branch (a symbol of life) and resting on a scorpion. The bordering inscription, *MORS MORTIS MEDICINA ET VICTORIA*, reminds the reader that the cure for death lies in death itself.

The reference to *oil* of scorpion, however, comes directly from contemporary medicine. The distillation of curative oils was new medical technology in the sixteenth century, embraced not only by Paracelsan but by Galenic pharmacologists as well and imported from the continent to England.⁷ *The vertuose boke of distyllacyon of the waters* (STC 13435), an English translation by L. Andrew of Hieronymus von Brunschweig's 1512 *Liber de Arte Distillandi*, was printed in 1527. Conrad Gessner's popular *Thesaurus euonymi philiatri* (1552) provided drawings of distilling 'furnaces' as part of a project to reform the art of pharmacology.⁸ In the 1559 English translation by Peter Morwyng published by John Day, five pages are devoted to recipes for and uses of scorpion oil, including promises that it will break 'the stone of the reines and bladder' and cure various poisons (BB3^r–CC1^r).⁹ The previous year, William Bullein's *A newe booke entituled the gouvernement of healthe* (STC 4039) had already mentioned Gessner and Fuchs (another proponent of distillation) as medical authorities along with Galen and Hippocrates.¹⁰ As late as 1565, Pietro Andrea Mattioli, a leader in the development of Renaissance pharmacology, was still extolling the virtues of a new drug—oil of scorpion.¹¹

Oil of scorpion, however, is not the only evidence that Lock was familiar with contemporary medical practice. She accurately uses

many technical medical terms: receipt (i.e., recipe or prescription), compound, well drawynge plasters, diet, conserve (an innovative remedy concocted from plant parts preserved with sugar), lyvely moisture, humors.¹² In four cases, her usage is either the earliest *OED* reference or predates the earliest citation by more than twenty years. She describes inadequate dressings as those which “so overheale the wounde that it festreth and breaketh oute afreshe” (A3^V), the first documented use of *overheale* as a verb. In the context of decrying papist medicine, Lock calls it ‘unholosome stuffe’ (A5^F). While *stuff* can be used generically simply to mean ‘material’, it seems here to indicate liquid medicine, particularly in light of its subsequent designation as medicine ‘to drinke’ (A5^F) or as ‘poisonous potions’ (A5^V).¹³ The emphasis on the deleterious effects of an evil liquid medicine may reflect the reformed antipathy toward the presumed salvific effects of the Roman Catholic mass. When describing physical illness, Lock uses two common terms—*fits* and *passions*—but then adds a third, *alterations* (A6^F), which by the seventeenth century was an accepted synonym for *distempers*.¹⁴ Finally, she also uses the word *prescribeth* (A7^V) in its technical sense as ordering a medicine.¹⁵

In addition to these terms, when Lock designates God as the physician and Calvin as the apothecary, she acknowledges two of the three official categories of medical practitioners (physicians, surgeons, apothecaries) and correctly ranks them according to the accepted hierarchy of the day. But of even greater interest is her comment that cures are formulated either by ‘skilfull men by arte, or honest neyghbours havynge gathered understandynge . . . by theyr owne experiment’ (A3^F). Here Lock seems to be making a distinction between university-educated doctors with their liberal arts curriculum, and the non-baccalaureate practitioners, who maintained a strong presence in London as well as in the countryside throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁶ The Act of 1512 required physicians without a university degree to be licenced by the Bishop (or, in London, by the Dean of St Paul’s) in consultation with four degreed doctors, although evidence indicates that the law was only imperfectly enforced. The Act of 1542, however, specifically recognised the medical competence of unlicenced men and women and allowed them to practice as long as they refrained from charging fees for their work.¹⁷

It is tempting to speculate that Lock herself may have provided medical care for her friends and family. There was certainly no social stigma attached to such activity and upper-class women seem to have regularly provided advice, and often care, to their communities. Furthermore, throughout the sixteenth century significant numbers of women practiced as both licenced and unlicenced physicians as well as midwives.¹⁸ For instance, in 1568 two women were licenced for surgery, one by the Bishop of Exeter and one by the Bishop of Norwich. In the former case, this was one of only two licences granted in the diocese during the entire year. Also, women were often paid by the parish to provide medical attention to the poor.¹⁹

Rhetorical Strategies

Whatever Lock's official status as a medical practitioner, her lexical choices indicate that she was a knowledgeable and probably widely read woman and they illustrate her skill in developing overlapping medical and theological arguments.²⁰ Her rhetorical strategies, similarly, demonstrate a confident authorial voice as shown in the design of the dedicatory epistle and in her use of balanced constructions, affective language, and well-developed images.

The epistle, arranged in three parts, begins with a tightly constructed argument designed to elicit the Duchess's interest in this 'little boke'. Lock offers her patron two scenarios. On the one hand, she draws a picture of those who suffer from poverty, adversity, and sickness, but, because their minds are 'armed & furnished with prepared patience' neither give in to such calamities, nor even stoop to be miserable (A2^r). This picture might very well remind the Duchess of her own recent exile during the reign of Mary Tudor. On the other hand, Lock draws a contrary image of those whose outward life, while peaceful, healthy, and seemingly blessed in every way, nevertheless are vexed by even the smallest disagreeable changes in their circumstances. From these two scenarios, Lock concludes that diseases find their root cause, not in the body, but in the mind (or soul, two terms she uses interchangeably) and, therefore, that the physician who can cure the mind deserves more thanks than the one who cures only the body.²¹

With her initial exemplum firmly in place, Lock now offers her little book to the Duchess in a striking chiasmic structure which demands

her patron's thanks (and presumably a material reward) but then diffuses that payment into a graceful compliment. The physician who offers the curative recipe is none other than God himself, says Lock. But God works both through an earthly apothecary, John Calvin, and through an assistant, Lock herself, who has put the cure 'into an Englishe box' that is presented to 'you' (A3^r). In the space between that final 'you' and the 'My' of the following sentence, the Duchess, having been so well instructed, presumably expresses her gratitude. Lock, however, immediately begins both to accept and to disperse this thanks as she retreats in a chiasitic motion away from the Duchess towards herself, Calvin, and, finally, God himself. For herself, 'my thankes are taken away & drowned by the greate excesse of duetie that I owe you' (A3^r). Having thus cancelled the Duchess's gratitude with her own debt, Lock also dismisses the thanks owed to the preacher, claiming that Calvin only desires people to use the medicine he has compounded. Although she directs patronage away from the human benefactors, Lock admits that the Duchess does owe gratitude to one person, the heavenly physician. But since he can never be recompensed for his pains, being owed continual thanks, the patron is transformed into a devout petitioner, a position that, Lock gracefully adds, the Duchess already exemplifies by her godly life. Although Lock presents herself merely as the packager of the verbal medicine, the audacity of commanding patronage, but then promptly redistributing it, shows a confident authorial hand. Furthermore, by relieving the Duchess of obligations to herself and Calvin, but redirecting her more firmly to God, Lock verbally creates a community of spiritual equals comprised of administrator, apothecary, and patient, who together owe their allegiance to God and his curative word.

The second part of the dedication continues to exhibit Lock's confident sense of design as she develops the conceit of illness by introducing two biblical exemplars, Hezekiah and David. Although she focuses on Hezekiah, the subject of Calvin's sermons, the reference to David surely anticipates the sonnet sequence.²² The debilitating illness from which both kings suffered, and which Lock recognises as a contemporary and pestilent ailment, is not primarily physical, but spiritual: the fear that since God hates sin and is a just God, he must hate me whose sin he is so justly punishing with this suffering. This

spiritual despair, Lock recognises, 'is daungerous and hard to be cured' because all the elements of the syllogism are, in fact, true. God is just and he does hate sin; we are all sinners and we do suffer (A4^V). The logic, however, is incomplete and the missing element is precisely the crucial ingredient in the effective medicine she offers: a sense of 'the determined providence of almyghtie God, whiche ordreth and disposeth all thynges to the best to them that truste in him' (A4^r). As Lock goes on to argue at some length, despair is cured not by trusting in the false medicine of good works which the Papists offer, but in the assurance of God's purpose 'that whome God hath from eternitie appointed to live, shal never die, howsoever sicknesse threaten' (A5^V).

As Lock concludes her dedication, she returns, in the third part, to the efficacy of her own 'litle boke' in administering the medicine of God's providence to those suffering from spiritual despair. Her book, she claims, not only contains the medicine 'brought from the plentifull shop & storehouse of Gods holye testament' but also provides an example of both the disease and the cure (A6^r). And, indeed, the latter is almost as necessary as the former, for we are unlikely to make appropriate use of a cure unless we have some assurance that it will be truly effective. In this case, Hezekiah's struggle with death and his ultimate healing provide the motivation to apply trust in God's providence as a cure for our own sufferings.

As is already apparent, Lock's tightly constructed preface offers ample evidence of a skilled and confident author who effectively exploits the power of balanced constructions, affective language, and developed images.

One sophisticated use of balanced construction is illustrated in the chiastically arranged delivery of medicine from God to the Duchess and of thanks from the Duchess to God. But equally noticeable is Lock's preference for arguing by way of antithesis. For instance, she opens the epistle with the contrast between 'some' who despite suffering are not miserable and 'some' who, though blessed with wealth and health, 'are vexed above measure with reasonlesse extremite' (A2^V). She then continues by contrasting disease of the mind with disease of the body, God (the heavenly physician) with the murderous physicians who dispense popish doctrine, and human frailty with God's grace.

Similarly, but by way of amplification rather than antithesis, she has a penchant for constructing sentences that are balanced in two's and three's. For instance, the calm soul is nevertheless 'oppressed with povertie, tossed with worldlye adversitie, tourmented with payne' (A2^r). This set of three clauses is not uncommon for Lock: the unholy trinity set against the true physician is composed of the philosopher, the infidel, and the Papist (A3^v). But near-tautological doublings, that is the coupling of nearly synonymous words, are even more widespread, as illustrated by the italicised pairs in the following sentence:

He knoweth that his safetie is much more surely reposed in Gods moste *stedfast and unchangeable* purpose, and in the most *strong & almighty*e hande of the *alknowynge and alworking* God, than in the *wavering will and feble weaknes* of man. (A5^v–A6^r)

Lock's use of doublings, along with the periodicity of her sentences, argues for the deliberate employment of a conservative, traditional rhetoric.²³ As Janel Mueller demonstrates, doublings are a characteristic feature of the Church Fathers (especially Augustine), Anglo-Saxon theological translations, and the vernacular prose (including the devotional literature) of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁴ Although numerous reasons can be adduced for their popularity—semantic stress, maximum explicitness, rhetorical decoration, literary habit—their employment by Lock places her in a long and venerable tradition of English prose.

Lock's traditional rhetoric, as demonstrated by her balanced constructions and use of doublings, cannot, however, be used to argue for a 'closet Catholicism'. Rather, we see in her writings the artful mingling of an ardent protestantism with the inherited structures of devotional prose.

Such a mingling is also apparent in Lock's affective use of language. In the following carefully designed sentence, Lock enacts the despair of the sick man, piling up the symptoms of his distress into an overwhelming heap, before concluding, 'alas what helpe remaineth in this extremitie?'

For when the wretched man

findyng all helpe of man not able to uphold him from perishing,
being stricken with the mightie hande of God,

feleth him self unable to stande,

no soundnes in his bodye,

no strength in his limmes,

no helpe of nature

to resist the violence of that disease

that Gods displeasure hath laide upon him,

seeth no signe of Gods grace in his soule,

but the deep woundes

that Gods anger hath left in his conscience,

perceiveth no token

to argue him th'elect of God and

partaker of the death of his Saviour

hearyng pronounced that the soule which sinneth shall die,

knowyng him selfe to have sinned, &

felyng him selfe dying:

alas what helpe remaineth in this extremitie?

(A4^v)

Lock is able to create the effect of despair precisely because she knows how to handle her rhetorical figures: grammatically parallel clauses (*parison*) tumble over each other without either intervening conjunctions (*asyndeton*) or the calming effect of near-tautological doublings; a sense of doom is engendered by anaphoric repetition ('no soundnes, no strength, no helpe'); the antitheses are multiplied (man/God; strength/weakness; grace/wound); exactly parallel clauses (*isocolon*) emphasise the spiritual cause of the illness ('that God's displeasure hath laide upon him/that Gods anger hath left in his conscience'). Yet these tropes and schemes are not used mechanically, but in the service of an affective and sensual rhetoric. As the sick one feels, hears, and sees his weakened condition, so the reader is drawn into, and wearied by, the sentence itself. The inconclusive triad of participles at the end leads only to the damning perplexity of the final question, 'alas what helpe remaineth in this extremitie?' Instead of giving a positive answer, however, Lock increases the affective tension by leaving the anguished patient dangling in distress while she goes on to describe in intricate detail the nature and effects of the bad medicine which Papists have to offer.

This sensual image of desperate illness is only one of many Lock uses to develop her central conceit—that the medicine her book offers will cure suffering souls. It is not simply that good doctrine is good medicine, but that this medicine comes tangibly to a sick soul through the efforts of a heavenly physician who writes a formula, an earthly pharmacist who mixes it, and a loving servant who packages it in an appropriate box. The reader is not merely told that Hezekiah is a good example, but she is made to feel him ‘nowe fresing, now fryeng’, to see his ‘gastly eyen, starynge wyth horroure’ and his ‘white & blodles hand’ reaching up toward heaven, and even to hear his gasping ‘unperfect soundes’ (A6^v–A7^r). In each case, Lock develops her images into a presence that can be physically experienced.

This imagistic skill is also demonstrated by her use of biblical allusions, particularly the way in which she links the concept of spiritual cure with three examples of medicinal oil. In the first allusion, she compares the papish doctrine of supererogation, that is the attributing of the superfluous good works of the saints to those less godly, to the parable of the virgins’ oil in Matthew 25:1–13 (A4^v–A5^r). In that story, the five foolish virgins forget to bring an extra supply of oil as they await the return of the bridegroom at midnight. When their lamps go out, they beg oil of the five wise virgins but are rebuffed because ‘there wil not be ynough for us & you’ and so are left weeping in darkness while the wise virgins go in to enjoy the wedding feast.²⁵ Although the biblical oil is fuel rather than medicine, the allusion to this parable succinctly illustrates Lock’s point. At one stroke she consigns Papists to outer darkness; points out the foolishness of their doctrine, which promises a cure but provides only an empty container; and labels those who offer a false medicine as ‘papisticall soulesleaers’ (A5^r).

As she moves from the negative example to the positive in the next paragraph, however, Lock offers a counter example of oil, this time the homeopathic medicine of the scorpion’s oil, which heals its own sting. Although Lock does not make a specific allusion to a biblical text, the conjunction of scorpion and snake in Deuteronomy 8:15 and Luke 10:19, the repeated reference to raising up, and the emphatic point that God provides both judgement and pardon, all point to Numbers 21:4–9. In that account, God punishes the Israelites for their disbelief by sending fiery serpents that sting them to death. The

Israelites' only hope of relief comes from looking up at a brass serpent that Moses raises on a pole. In an exegetical tradition beginning with the Wisdom of Solomon (16:6, 7), this serpent was recognised as a symbol of salvation and was explicitly identified with the crucified Christ in the Gospel of John (3:14–15). Although none of the biblical texts mentions oil, Lock's conjunction of a recent medical discovery with the scriptural tradition neatly links the christological salvific cure with the oil available only to the faithful virgins, but falsely promised by a doctrine of good works.

Christ as the heavenly physician, as well as the link between Old Testament and the New Testament, is confirmed by Lock's third and final image of oil. Looking at Hezekiah returned to health, she says,

we se the heavenly Physician anoynt him with the merciful Samaritans oyle, purge the oppressing humors with true repentance, strengthen his stomack with the holsome conserve of Gods eternall decree, and expell his disease, and set hym on foote with assured faith of Gods mercy, and staieng his yet unsteddy pace & foltring legges with the swete promyses of Gods almyghtye goodnes. (A7^r–A7^v)

Drawing on the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37), traditionally seen as an image of Christ, she reenacts its story in the life of Hezekiah as she visualises him anointed with oil, fed the life-giving wine, and set, not on a donkey, but on his own feet again by the power of God. With the conjunction of these three images of healing oil, Lock, in an amazingly compact space, not only develops her own conceit of the heavenly medicine but explicates a Reformation soteriology that emphasises the effective and affective nature of God's providence and grace.

Although this dedicatory epistle displays an impressive grasp of *inventio* and *elocutio* as Lock gathers her materials and artfully deploys them, there is no doubt that she marshalls this rhetorical skill in order to display the truth plainly. Indeed, she specifically invokes the notion of plainness to explain her philosophy of translation: 'Concernyng my translation of this boke, it may please you to understand that I have rendred it so nere as I possibly might, to the very wordes of his text, and that in so plaine Englishe as I could expresse' (A8^r). Her translation does exhibit a scrupulosity about following the original as closely

as possible, often preferring, for instance, to transliterate the French.²⁶ In seeking a close, literal translation, Lock was merely following the precedent for translating the word of God established by Wyclif and Purvey in the fourteenth century and adhered to by subsequent sixteenth-century translators.²⁷ Furthermore, the English appreciation for Calvin was predicated precisely upon what was perceived as his fidelity to Scripture and clarity of language. Thus, for instance, Rouland Hall, printer of the 1561 volume of *Four Godlye Sermons agaynst the Polution of Idolatries*, commends Calvin's writings to the English reader because their matter is worthy, the style is plain and simple, and the Scriptures are handled reverently, thereby showing their power 'when it is most naked & bare and void of that painted sheathe that men would put upon it' (A2^r).²⁸

Here again, Lock's conjunction of Protestant plainness with late medieval rhetoric reminds us that it is unhelpful to categorise her as either conservative or progressive, or to see these elements as necessarily constituting tensions within her work. One can place the elegant periodicity of the dedication with its parallelisms and balanced antitheses within the Ciceronian school rhetorics or the manuals on letter writing Lock might have studied with her tutor. On the other hand, Lock impresses these formulæ into the service of affective religious discourse, which, with its doublings and physical images, bears more than a passing resemblance to the fourteenth-century vernacular devotional texts.²⁹ In fact, Lock's imaginatively developed analogy of the three medicinal oils runs directly counter to Calvin's treatment of the same New Testament texts in his commentaries. In the case of the virgins' oil, Calvin insists that the text simply asserts the need for unwearying perseverance and decries the 'great ingenuity over the lanterns, the vessels, the oil'.³⁰ Even more forcibly, Calvin objects to embellishments of the Good Samaritan parable including the

allegory which has won such regard that nearly everyone comes down in its favour like an oracle. In this, they make out the Samaritan to be Christ, because He is our protector: they say that wine mixed with oil was poured into the wound because Christ heals us with repentance and the promise of grace. . . . Anyone may see that these speculations have been cooked up by meddlers, quite divorced from the mind of Christ.³¹

This stripping of allegorisation is one element of the Protestant plain style, yet Lock apparently sees no conflict between the styles of the epistle and the translation (or even Calvin's own theory of sacred rhetoric) since both are used for the same end, to draw believers to God.³²

Indeed, this close examination of Lock's authorial strategies suggests several implications for understanding both her own writings and those of the mid-century nonconformist community. With self-assured skill, Lock gathers a number of diverse elements into her 'litle boke': references to contemporary medicine and everyday life, biblical allusions knitted together by a common metaphor into a short narrative, a plain translation of plain sermons about the plain biblical text, and a set of intensely personal devotional lyrics. While these cannot be limited to a single rhetorical paradigm, they do share a set of common assumptions: that God speaks, primarily in his word but also in the world; that one's first responsibility is to hear the word of God and be drawn to him; that the goal of religion is not simply knowledge of, but love for and obedience to, God. Theological precision, however, does not result in generic rigidity. Indeed, Lock's stylistic flexibility is congruent with the range of Protestant writing in this period: English and Latin dramas, historiography and hagiography, metrical paraphrases, etc.

Second, although she firmly excludes the Papists, Lock just as clearly constitutes a new community beginning with the Duchess, Calvin, and herself, but extending outward to embrace all those who acknowledge God's providence in their lives.³³ As Mary Thomas Crane has argued with respect to the humanists, Lock, too, appears to be engaged in the task not of self-fashioning, but of group-fashioning.³⁴ Although she may use traditional materials (Ciceronian periodicity, the appeal to patronage, allegorical moral tales), she consistently shapes the genre to conform to her reformed sensibilities. In the same way, newer modes of cultural exchange (distilled medicine, plain sermons, sonnet form) are engaged not for their novelty, but for their appropriateness. Indeed, Lock takes her place among the generation of nonconformists who, by reforming genres and providing a fresh gloss for the vernacular Scriptures, were conscious of creating a new consensual community.

Publication

Finally, a return to a physical description of the two copies of this 1560 volume suggests that Lock's authorial control of her materials extended beyond their initial writing and into the printing house itself. Most of the variants between F and L are undoubtedly the result of corrections made by the compositors. The most spectacular variant occurs on the last leaf of the third sermon (F₃^V) where F includes an erroneous running head ('The fourth sermon') and twenty-five lines printed upside down on the lower two-thirds of the page, lines taken from three pages in signature F (F₃^r, F₄^v, F₅^r). Apparently, the compositor selected the lines of type from formes that were in the process of being distributed to the sort boxes in order to create a bearer that would keep the type even and prevent the wet paper from sinking down into the print bed. This bearer type, however, was not properly patched with a frisket and so at least one, and probably several, sheets were printed before the mistake was noticed and corrected. F includes the uncorrected page, while L has a later corrected state of the same forme.³⁵

While it is likely the printer would have caught and corrected the error on F₃^V, a more significant discrepancy occurs in signature C, where a double transposition seems to indicate an authorial change on a copy page, which was overlooked during the correction process but later changed during the print run of that page. In L, the penultimate sentence of the first sermon reads:

And yet alway lette us runne to oure God, and although it semeth that he persecuteth us, and that hys hande be verye roughe and dreadfull unto us, yet let us not cease to approche unto hym, and magnifie hys goodnesse: beyng assured that it shall very well surmount farre, and exccade all oure faultes and offences. (C₄^r)

In F, however, the same sentence reads:

And yet alway lette us runne to oure God, and although it semeth that he persecuteth us, and that hys hande be verye roughe and dreadfull unto us, yet let us not cease to approche

unto hym, and magnifie hys goodnesse: beyng verye well assured
that it shall farre, surmonte and exccade all oure faultes and
offences. (C4^r)

The movement of 'verye well' and the transposition of 'surmount/surmonte' and 'farre' argue for an authorial, rather than a printer, change since there is no reason, other than improvement of the translation, for making it. The original reads *estans asseurez qu'elle surmontera toutes nos fautes et offenses*.³⁶ By making 'very well' modify 'assured', rather than 'surmount', Lock is able to emphasise both 'assured' ('very well assured') and 'surmount' ('farre surmount') rather than placing all the emphasis simply on 'surmount'. F certainly has the superior English rendition, and the retention of the comma after 'farre' can be accounted for by the compositor's simply moving the entire word plus punctuation from its place following 'surmount' to the antecedent position. The error in 'exccade' ('exceade') remained uncorrected.

Although there is no way to prove that Lock herself supervised the printing and proofing of her own book, the evidence of this page suggests authorial intervention. Moreover, it appears that the Day printshop did host authors who proofread their own books. For instance, in William Baldwin's satirical *A Marvelous Hystory intituled, Beware the Cat* (STC 1244), the storytelling divine, Gregory Stremer, describes Day's house at Aldersgate, where he often stayed, 'sometime for lack of other lodging, and sometime as while my Greeke Alphabets were in printing, to see that it might bee truly corrected' (A6^r).³⁷

Conclusion

To conclude, Anne Lock's lexical choices, rhetorical strategies, and possible involvement in the actual printing process suggest she was a woman who enjoyed a breadth of learning and impressive authorial resources. Although the dedicatory epistle to the Duchess of Suffolk is, in itself, a lovely gem of mid-sixteenth-century devotional writing, it also offers two important insights that may prove useful in the further examination of the sonnet sequence. First, the most perplexing difficulty with the sonnets is the question of their authorship. The headnote that introduces the prefatory sonnets states that 'I have added this meditation folowyng unto the ende of this boke, not as parcell of

maister Calvines worke, but for that it well agreeth with the same argument, and was delivered me by my frend with whom I knew I might be so bolde to use & publishe it as pleased me' (AA1^r). It has been suggested that the 'frend' is Lock herself and that she finds it necessary to mask herself as author.³⁸ Yet the evidence of the epistle and the translation consistently points toward a confident authorial voice, one which seems at odds with such self-deprecation. Although this disjunction between epistle and headnote does not resolve the issue of authorship, it does warn against succumbing too easily to the theory of terminal modesty. Second, the echoing of the Vulgate in the phrase 'th'everlasting Chaos', the employment of devotional rhetorical strategies, and the delight in biblical allegory suggest that rigorous non-conformity did not necessarily mean a repudiation of older religious patterns. In examining the imagery of the sonnets and in determining the sources for the prose translation, therefore, there is no need to drive a wedge between Calvinistic and traditional orthodoxy. The reformers' sense that they were holding to tradition rather than abandoning it receives artistic confirmation both in the epistle and in the sonnets.

Undoubtedly, scholarly interest will continue to focus on the Psalm 51 sonnets and their curious exclusion from the canon of English poetry. Yet we can best reinstate these poems by placing them inside the 'Englishe box' that Anne Lock herself so carefully prepared. That box, composed of both traditional Christian rhetoric and ardent protestantism, demonstrates the vigor of the reformed aesthetic as it was forging its own identity in the middle of the sixteenth century.

The Text

The original spelling, punctuation, and paragraphing remain intact except for the following changes: I have normalised spacing, corrected obvious printing errors (such as turned or substituted letters), modernised the long *s*, *i/j*, and *u/v*, and expanded the following abbreviations: *y^e* to *the* or *that* as context demands; *wth* to *with*; and *-* to *m* or *n*. These emendations are made silently except for the printing errors, where the original is given in the notes. Lexical information is keyed to the *OED*. A dagger [†] indicates that this is the first *OED* reference or predates it. If the latter, the date of the first citation

is noted. In most cases, the word itself is already recorded, but the particular usage (e.g., as a participial adjective or technical medical term) can be attributed to Lock.

1 | A2^r | TO THE RIGHT
 2 HONORABLE, AND
 3 Christian Princesse, the Lady^o
 4 Katharine, Duchesse
 5 of Suffolke.

6 IT^o often falleth out in experience (my gracious & singular good Lady)
 7 that some men beyng oppressed with povertie, tossed with worldlye
 8 adversitie, tourmented with payne, sores, & sicknes of body, and other
 9 suche common matters of grieffe, as the world counteth miseries & evils: Yet
 10 having theyr myndes armed & furnished with prepared patience, and
 11 defence of inward understanding, all these calamities can not so farre
 12 prevaile, as to make them fall, nor yet once stoupe into the state of men to be
 13 accompted miserable: but they beare them with suche constaunce, as if suche
 14 afflictions were not of such nature as other commonly do fele them, or as if
 15 those men were suche upon whome those troubles coude not worke theyr
 16 naturall propertie. On th'other side we se some that flowyng in earthly
 17 wealth & suffisance, free from | A2^v | fortunes crueltie, healthy in bodye, and
 18 every waye to the worldes seming blessed: yet with mynde not well
 19 instructed, or with conscience not well quieted, even upon such small

Notes to lines 1 through 19

^ofrom line 3 through the end of the epistle, the text is printed in italics

^oIT] woodcut I

- 6 falleth out] happens, cf. † *OED* fall v. 94g (1568).
 6 singular good] a common form of address for a titled personage, cf. *OED* singular a. 9c.
 10 furnished] equipped, cf. *OED* furnished ppl. a. 2c.
 13 constaunce] constancy, steadfastness, cf. *OED* constance 1.
 17 suffisance] abundance or wealth, cf. *OED* suffisance 3.
 18 to the worldes seming] as it appears to the world.

20 chaunces as other can lightly beare, are vexed above measure with reasonlesse
 21 extremitie. Wherby appeareth that the greves of body and calamities of
 22 fortune do so farre onely extende, to afflict, or make a man miserable, as they
 23 approach to touch the mind, & assaile the soule. Which proveth that the
 24 peines and diseases of minde & soule are not only the most grevous, & most
 25 daungerous, but also they onely are painfull & perillous, and those of the
 26 body & fortune are such as the mynde useth, and maketh them. So as to a
 27 sicke stomacke of mynde, all bodylie matters of delite and worldely pleasures
 28 are lothesome and displeasing, as on th'other side the power of a healthy
 29 soule easly digesteth and gathereth good nouriture of the hard peines, and
 30 bitter tormentes of the body and fortune. He then, that cureth the sicke
 31 minde, or preserveth it from disease, cureth or preserveth not onely minde,
 32 but bodye also: and deserveth so much more praise and thanke, than the
 33 bodies Physicion, as the soule excelleth the bodie, | A3^r | and as the curing, or
 34 preservation of them both is to be preferred before the cure of the bodye
 35 alone. But we se dayly, when skilfull men by arte, or honest neyghbours
 36 havng gathered understanding of some specyall dysease & the healing
 37 therof by theyr owne experiment, do applie their knowledge to the restoring
 38 of health of any mans body in any corporall sicknesse, howe thankfully it is
 39 taken, howe muche the releved patient accompteth him selfe bound to him
 40 by meane of whose aide and ministracion he findeth him self holpen or
 41 eased. What then deserveth he, that teacheth such a receipt, wherby health
 42 both of body and mynde is preserved, & wherby if health be appaired, it may

Notes to lines 20 through 42

- 20 above measure] excessively, cf. † *OED* above adv. B7 (1611).
- 21 extremitie] utmost suffering, cf. *OED* extremity 7.
- 21 greves] physical pains, cf. *OED* grief sb. 6.
- 23 assaile] tempt, cf. *OED* assail v.¹ 9.
- 27 sicke stomacke of mynde] an unusual turn of the phrase which aptly captures the almost palpably physical effect of distress. Stomach is probably used here both in the literal sense of a bodily organ and in the figurative sense of the seat of the emotions paralleling 'soul' in the last half of the sentence; cf. *OED* stomach sb. 6a.
- 29 nouriture] nourishment, cf. *OED* nouriture 1.
- 35 skilfull men by arte, or honest neyghbours] probably a distinction between university-trained licenced physicians and unlicenced practitioners of medicine, also known as empirics.
- 41 receipt] prescription, cf. *OED* receipt sb. 1a.
- 42 appaired] impaired, cf. *OED* appaired ppl. a.

43 be restored, yea whereby sicknes and common miseries continuyng shall not
 44 have so muche power to trouble a man as to make him sicke, or miserable?
 45 This receipte God the heavenly Physitian hath taught, his most excellent
 46 Apothecarie master John Calvine hath compounded, & I your graces most
 47 bounden & humble have put into an Englishe box, & do present unto you.
 48 My thanks are taken away & drowned by the greate excesse of duetie that I
 49 owe you: Master Calvine thinketh his paynes re- | A³ | compensated if your
 50 grace or any Christian take profit of it: bicause how much soever is spent, his
 51 store is neverthelesse. And for God, recompensed he can not be: but how he
 52 is continually to be thanked, your graces profession of his worde, your
 53 abidyng in the same, the godly conversation that I have sene in you, do prove
 54 that your selfe do better understand & practise than I can admonishe you.
 55 And that you maye be assured, that this kinde of medicine is not
 56 hurtfull: two moste excellent kinges, Ezechias and David, beside an infinite
 57 numbred have tasted the lyke before you, and have founde health therin, such
 58 healthe as hath cured them for ever, and not as common or naturall reasons
 59 of Philosophie doe cure a sicke or soore mynde, which with easie and weake
 60 not well drawynge or cleansinge plasters, so overheale the wounde that it
 61 festreth and breaketh oute afreshe wyth renewed and doublye encreased
 62 danger.

Notes to lines 43 through 62

- 46 compounded] mixed (an apothecary term), cf. *OED* compound v. 3. See Sermon Four, sig. G⁵^v.
 47 bounden & humble] used elliptically for bounden & humble servant, cf. *OED* humble a.¹ 1c.
 51 store] sufficient supply, cf. *OED* store sb. 4a.
 51 neverthelesse] not in any way lessened, cf. *OED* never adv. 5b.
 52 profession of his worde] declaration of faith in and obedience to God, cf. *OED* profession 5a.
 53 conversation] manner of living, cf. *OED* conversation 6.
 56 Ezechias] Lock uses the earlier form of the name found in the Vulgate and Coverdale rather than the Geneva Bible's Hezekiah.
 57 the lyke] the same thing, cf. *OED* like a. 1d.
 58 (through 59) naturall reasons of Philosophie] innate, cf. *OED* natural a. 1; also possibly unregenerate, cf. *OED* natural a. 4a.
 59 easie] not very good, cf. *OED* easy a. 15.
 60 overheale] heals over the surface of the wound in a superficial way, cf. †*OED* overheal v. (Lock cited as first usage).

63 Suche remedye as here is conteined can no Philosopher, no Infidele, no
64 Papist minister. For what perfite helpe can they geve to a dyseased mynde,
65 that understande not, or be- | A4^r | leve not the onely thyng that muste of
66 nedefull necessitie be put into all medicines that maye serve for a tourmented
67 soule, that is to say, the determined providence of almyghtie God, whiche
68 ordreth and disposeth all thynges to the best to them that truste in him?

69 This Physicke resteth onely amonge trewe belevyng Christians, who
70 are perswaded that whatsoever betideth unto us, his hie wisdom that sent it,
71 and that seeth all thynges, sent it of hys good pleasure and decreed purpose,
72 and that for oure benefite if we love and beleve hym, thoughe oure weake
73 understandynge knoweth not howe it shoulde be profitable, but naturally
74 judgeth it hurtefull and unpleasaunt. And necessarye it was that he whiche
75 by understandynge of Godes hatred of synne and felynge of hys justice, is
76 subject to fall into the moste perillous peine and tourment of conflicte with
— sinne and desperation, shoulde by conceyvynge of Godes mercy, and belevyng
78 of his providence, have helpe of the moste and onely perfect and effectuallye
79 working medicine.

80 But in heavye case is he, that beyng | A4^v | afflicted with that
81 daungerous disease of the felyng of Gods wrath kindled against him, hath not
82 the conserve of belefe of Gods providence remainyng with him, or beyng
83 ministred to him either for feblenesse of stomack can not receive and brooke
84 it, or his oppressed appetite beyng overwhelmed with grosse faithlesse and
85 papisticall humors can not abide the tast of it. Wo is (I say) to them: for theyr

Notes to lines 63 through 85

64 Papist] in keeping with Protestant rhetoric, Papist, used as a hostile term, designates any member of the Roman Catholic Church; cf. *OED* papist 1.

64 perfite] perfect or skilled, cf. *OED* perfect a. 2a.

67 determined] ordained, cf. *OED* determined ppl. a. 4.

68 ordreth and disposeth all thynges to the best to them that truste in him] Romans 8:28.

69 Physicke] medical treatment, cf. *OED* physic sb. 4c; also spiritual remedy, cf. *OED* physic sb. 5b.

69 resteth] remains, cf. *OED* rest v.¹ 3a.

80 in heavye case] in a distressing condition, cf. *OED* heavy a.¹ 25a.

82 conserve] a medicinal preparation composed of a plant part preserved with sugar, cf. *OED* conserve sb. 4. See also line 175.

83 brooke] digest, cf. *OED* brook v. 2.

84 grosse] dense or thick, cf. *OED* gross a. 8a.

85 humors] morbid bodily fluids, cf. *OED* humour sb. 2a.

86 disease is daungerous and hard to be cured. For when the wretched man
 87 findyng all helpe of man not able to uphold him from perishing, being
 88 stricken with the mightie hande of God, feleth him selfe unable to stande, no
 89 soundnes in his bodye, no strength in his limmes, no helpe of nature to resist
 90 the violence of that disease that Gods displeasure hath laide upon him, seeth
 91 no signe of Gods grace in his soule, but the depe woundes that Gods anger
 92 hath left in his conscience, perceiveth no token to argue him th'elect of God
 93 and partaker of the death of his Saviour, hearyng pronounced that the soule
 94 which sinneth shall die, knowyng him selfe to have sinned, & felyng him
 95 selfe dying: alas what helpe remaineth in this extremitie? If we thinke the
 96 helpe of papistes, to begge and borrowe others Vir- | As^r | gins oyle that have
 97 none to spare, to bye the superfluous workes of those men that say they have
 98 done more than suffiseth to satisfie Gods lawe and to deserve theyr owne
 99 salvation, to appease God with suche extraordinarie devised service as he
 100 never commaunded, and such like unholsome stuffe as papisticall
 101 soulesleaers have ministred to Christian patientes: If (I say) we thinke these
 102 good & sufficient medicines: alas, we do nothinge therby, but plant untrew
 103 securitie, promise health, & performe death: the panges wherof when the
 104 deceived sick man feleth, he to late espieth the falshod of the murtherous
 105 Physician. The pore damned soule in Hell tourmented with the lamentable
 106 peines that turmoile him, from whome God the onely author of joy and
 107 comfort is absent, perceiveth to late howe wandring the wrong way from
 108 heaven, he is fallen into Hell. That selly wretche flamying in the infernall fire
 109 feleth, alas, to late that thei which gave him mans medicines to drincke, have
 110 slayne his soule: they which taught him to trust of salvation by mans devises

Notes to lines 86 through 110

- 92 to argue] to prove, cf. *OED* argue v. 3.
 93 (through 94) the soule which sinneth shall die] Ezekiel 18:4, 20.
 96 to begge and borrowe others Virgins oyle] Matthew 25:1–13, the parable of the
 wise and foolish virgins; begge and borrowe is Lock's own language.
 99 devised] contrived or feigned, cf. *OED* devised ppl. a.
 100 stuffe] liquid medicine, cf. †*OED* stuff sb.¹ 6b (1611).
 101 soulesleaers] those who kill the soul (not in *OED*); possibly coined by analogy
 with manslayer.
 104 deceived] deluded, cf. †*OED* deceived ppl. a. (1569).
 106 turmoile] agitate or harass, cf. *OED* turmoil v. 1a.
 108 selly] miserable, cf. *OED* seely a. 6.

111 have set his burnyng hert in that place of flames, where th'everlasting Chaos
 112 suffereth no droppe of Godes mercye to descende: they | A5^v | which taught
 113 him to seeke health any other where than in the determined purpose of God,
 114 that hath sent his own sonne for our redemption, have spoiled him of all
 115 benefit of redemption. He feleth at length all to late howe by faulte of ill diet
 116 and throughe poisonous potions which his ignoraunt corrupted and
 117 traiterous Physicion suffered him to use, and bad him to take, he lieth dead
 118 eternally.

119 But on th'other side, when the belevynge Christian falleth (as God
 120 hath made none to stande wherby they should not nede his mercye to raise
 121 them when they are fallen) he knoweth whither to reache his hande to be
 122 raised up againe: beyng stong with the stinge of the scorpion he knoweth
 123 howe with oyle of the same scorpion to be healed agayne: beyng wounded
 124 with the justice of God that hateth sinne, he knoweth howe with the mercy of
 125 the same God that pardoneth sinne to have hys peine asswaged and hurt
 126 amended. He knoweth that whome God hath from eternitie appointed to
 127 live, shal never die, howsoever sicknesse threaten: no misery, no tentation,
 128 no perill shall availe to his everlasting overthrowe. He knoweth that his
 129 safetie is much more su- | A6^f | rely reposed in Gods moste stedfast and

Notes to lines 111 through 129

- 111 th'everlasting Chaos] the chasm between heaven and hell which prevented the poor beggar Lazarus from moistening the lips of the rich man as recorded in Luke 16:26. Only the Vulgate has *chaos magnum* while the English versions give various translations of the Greek *chasma mega*: greet derke place (Wyclif); greate space (Tyndale); great gulfe (Geneva, swallowing pit as marginal reading). Everlasting is Lock's addition to the phrase, cf. *OED* chaos 1.
- 113 any other where] in any other place, cf. *OED* where adv. 13.
- 114 spoiled] robbed, cf. *OED* spoil v.¹ 2a.
- 116 poisonous] venomous, cf. †*OED* poisonous a. 1 (1573).
- 116 corrupted] made corrupt, cf. †*OED* corrupted ppl. a. (1563).
- 123 oyle of the same scorpion] Conflation of classical and theological sources which suggest that 'like cures like', combined with sixteenth-century rediscovery of medicinal distilled oils; see Pliny, *Natural History* 29:29; Numbers 21:4-9; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 10.8; Morwyng, *The Treasure of Euonymus*, BB3^f-CC1^f. Cf. †*OED* scorpion le (1594) but used previously in *Treasures* (1559).
- 126 (through 132) He knoweth . . . weaknes of man] Condensed paraphrase of Romans 8:29-39.
- 127 tentation] temptation.
- 129 reposed] placed, cf. *OED* repose v.¹ 2.

130 unchangeable purpose, and in the most strong & almightye hande of the
 131 alknowynge and alworking God, than in the wavering will and feble weaknes
 132 of man. This healeth the Christians sicknes, this preserveth him from death,
 133 this maketh him to live for ever. This medicine is in this litle boke brought
 134 from the plentiful shop & storehouse of Gods holye testament, where Gods
 135 everabiding purpose from beyond beginning is set fourth, to the everlasting
 136 salvation of some, & eternall confusion of other. Beside that, this boke hath
 137 not only the medicine, but also an example of the nature of the disease, & the
 138 meane how to use & apply the medicine to them that be so diseased. For
 139 when a man languishing in corporall sicknes, heareth his neighbour reporte
 140 unto him, or himselfe hathe before time sene in an other the same cause of
 141 sicknes, the same maner of fits, passions, alterations, & in every point the
 142 same qualities of sicknes, & the same disposition of body that he knoweth &
 143 feleth in him self: it geveth him assurance, & maketh him to know that he is
 144 sick of the same disease that th'other was: wherby knowing howe th'other
 145 was healed, what diet | A6^v | he kept, what Physicke he toke, he doeth with the
 146 greater boldnes, confidence of mynde, and desire, call for, taste, and gredely
 147 receyve that healthfull & lifefull medicine wherby he saw and knew his
 148 neighbour healed, and with the greater care keperth the same diet wherewith
 149 he saw & knew th'other preserved. So here this good soules Physician hath
 150 brought you where you maye se lyinge before youre face the good king
 151 Ezechias, sometime chillinge and chattering with colde, sometime languishing
 152 & meltyng away with heate, nowe fresing, now fryeng, nowe spechelesse,
 153 nowe crying out, with other suche piteous panges & passions wrought in his

Notes to lines 130 through 153

- 131 alknowynge and alworking] predates the first *OED* citation of any compound composed of *all* plus a present participle with the exception of the Old English *all-wielding*; cf. †*OED* *all* adv. E7 (1588). See also the Sonnets *all* sufficing (fifth prefatory sonnet) and *all* pearcing (fifth sonnet on Psalm 51).
 135 everabiding] eternal, cf. †*OED* *ever* adv. 10a (1586).
 141 fits] attacks of illness, cf. *OED* *fit* sb.² 3a.
 141 passions] painful bodily disorders, cf. *OED* *passion* sb. 4a.
 141 alterations] in conjunction with the terms *fits* and *passions* is almost certainly a technical medical term, *distempers*, cf. †*OED* *alteration* 3 (1621).
 142 disposition of body] physical constitution, cf. *OED* *disposition* 8.
 146 gredely] eagerly, cf. *OED* *greedily* adv. 3.

154 tender afflicted spirit, by gilty conscience of his owne fault, by terrible
 155 consideration of Gods justice, by cruell assaultes of the tyrannous enemie of
 156 mans salvation, vexynge hym in muche more lamentable wise than any
 157 bodely fever can worke, or bodyly fleshe can suffer. On th'other side for his
 158 helpe, you se him sometyme throwe up his gastly eyen, starynge wyth
 159 horroure, and scant discernynge for peine and for want of the lyvely moisture
 160 to fede the brightnes of theyr sight. You se him sometyme yeldyngly stretch
 161 oute, sometyme struglinglye | A7^r | throwe his weakned legges not able to
 162 sustein his feble body: sometime he casteth abrode, or holdeth up his white &
 163 blodles hand toward the place whether his soule longeth: sometyme with
 164 fallyng chappes, he breatheth out unperfect soundes, gasping rather than
 165 calling for mercy & helpe. These thinges being here laid open to sight and
 166 remainyng in remembraunce, (as the horroure and piteous spectacle can not
 167 suffre it to fall out of a Christian tender minde) if we feele oure selves in like
 168 anguishe, we finde that the disease is the same that Ezechias had, and so by
 169 convenience of reason muste by the same meane be healed. Then behoveth
 170 us to remember or to be infourmed by oure diligent Physitian or charitable
 171 neighbour, howe we sawe Ezechias healed, whome we imagine in this Boke
 172 to see, both dying, revived, and walking after health recovered. There we se
 173 the heavenly Physician anoynt him with the merciful Samaritans oyle, purge
 174 the oppressing humors with true repentaunce, strengthen his stomack with
 175 the holsome conserve of Gods eternall decree, and expell his disease, and set
 176 hym on foote with assured faith of Gods mercy, and staieng his yet unsteddy

Notes to lines 154 through 176

- 156 lamentable wise] lamentably, cf. *OED* wise sb.¹ II1b.
 158 gastly] deathlike or wan, cf. †*OED* ghastly a. 2a (1581).
 158 eyen] eyes, cf. *OED* eye sb.¹.
 159 lyvely moisture] life-giving moisture, humors, cf. *OED* moisture sb. 2c.
 160 yeldyngly] unresistingly, cf. †*OED* yielding ppl. a. 4 (Lock cited as first usage).
 See also yelding/yeldyng in the Sonnets (fifth prefatory sonnet and seventeenth sonnet on Psalm 51).
 164 chappes] jaws, cf. *OED* chap sb.² 2.
 168 (through 169) by convenience of reason] in accordance with reason, cf. *OED* convenience sb. 1a.
 173 merciful Samaritans oyle] Luke 10:25–37, the parable of the Good Samaritan.
 176 staieng] supporting, cf. *OED* stay v.² 1.
 176 unsteddy] insecure, cf. †*OED* unsteady a. 1 (1598).

177 pace & foltring legges | A7^v | with the swete promyses of Gods almyghtye
 178 goodnes. So learne we what Physicians helpe we shall use: and this medicine
 179 beyng offered us, we are bolde to take it, bycause we knowe it wyll heale us.
 180 And beyng healed, knowyng and hearyng it confessed, that sinne was the
 181 cause and nourishment of Ezechias disease, we learne a newe diet, and to
 182 fede as Ezechias his Physician and oures apointeth, absteinyng from thinges
 183 hurtfull taking things healthfull as he prescribeth. So doth the Christian
 184 attaine his health, so beyng attempted he preserveth it for ever. And as it is
 185 true that seconde & returned sicknesses by surfit or misdemenour are most
 186 cruell and daungerous, so holdeth he yet this also for trueth, that to this
 187 Physician with this medicine, no disease never so long rooted, never so oft
 188 retourned, is incurable. Beyng then thus muche beholden to this Physician
 189 we must nedes confesse that we owe unto him our life and health, & all that
 190 we be or have. And for his faithful minister master Calvine, I beseeche your
 191 grace wyth me, to wishe hym Gods benefit of eternall happie life for his
 192 rewarde, even as I wishe your grace continuall health of life and soule for
 193 your preservation, | A8^r | not onely for this newe yeare, but also for the tyme
 194 that shall excede all extent of yeares, beseeching you to accepte bothe my
 195 worke and prayer.

196 Concernyng my translation of this boke, it may please you to
 197 understand that I have rendred it so nere as I possibly might, to the very
 198 wordes of his text, and that in so plaine Englishe as I could expresse: Suche as
 199 it is, I beseeche your grace to take it good parte.

200 Your graces humble
 201 A. L.

Notes to lines 177 through 201

- 183 prescribeth] orders the use of a medicine, cf. †*OED* prescribe v. 3a (1581) but used previously as a technical medical term in Turner, *A new booke of spirituall Physic* K1^v (1555).
 184 attempted] attained; not in *OED*.
 185 surfit] excessive indulgence which results in illness, cf. *OED* surfeit sb. 4b.
 189 must nedes] of necessity, cf. *OED* needs adv. c.
 193 (through 194) tyme that shall excede all extent of yeares] eternity, cf. †*OED* extent sb. 4c (1671).
 197 rendred] translated, cf. †*OED* render v. 6 (1610).
 197 so nere] so closely, cf. *OED* near adv.² 7b.
 199 good parte] in good part or favorably, cf. *OED* part sb. 26b.

Textual Comparisons

- 86 wretched] wretched F, L
 116 ignoraunt] iguoraunt F, L
 129 safetie] safctie F, L
 155 by] hy F, L
 168 Ezechias] EZechias F, L

Running Heads

A2^v–A8^r THE EPISTLE. Periods omitted A2^v and A7^v.

Notes

1. Biographers of John Knox have long recognised the importance of Anne Lock to the Scottish reformer. Particular interest in Lock's own life dates back at least to Robert Louis Stevenson's 'John Knox and His Relations to Women', *Macmillans Magazine* (September and October 1875), reprinted in *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*, vol. 3 of *The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson* (Cassell and Company, London, 1906). The standard biography of Anne Lock remains Patrick Collinson's classic article 'The Role of Women in the English Reformation Illustrated by the Life and Friendships of Anne Locke', originally published in *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1965), pp. 258–72, and subsequently republished in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (Hambledon Press, London, 1983), pp. 273–87. For analyses of the Knox/Lock correspondence, see Susan M. Felch, "'Deir Sister': The Letters of John Knox to Anne Vaughan Lok', *Renaissance and Reformation/ Renaissance et Reforme*, 19.4 (Fall 1995), pp. 47–68, and 'The Rhetoric of Biblical Authority: John Knox and the Question of Women', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (1995), pp. 807–24. There are, however, few discussions of her work. The most extensive are Margaret P. Hannay's two articles: "'Strengthening the walles of . . . Ierusalme": Anne Vaughan Lok's Dedication to the Countess of Warwick', *ANQ*, 5 (1992), pp. 71–75, and "'Unlock my lipps": The *Miserere mei Deus* of Anne Vaughan Lok and Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke', in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. Jean R. Brink, *Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies*, 23 (Northeast Missouri State University, Kirksville, 1993), pp. 19–36. See also Susanne Woods, 'The Body Penitent: A 1560 Calvinist Sonnet Sequence', *ANQ*, 5 (1992), pp. 137–40.

2. *Sermons of John Calvin, upon the songe that Ezechias made after he had bene sicke, and afflicted by the hand of God, conteyned in the 38 Chapter of Esay* (Day, London, 1560), STC 4450; *Of the Markes of the Children of God, and of their Comforts in Afflictions* (T. Man, London, 1590), STC 23652.

3. The first five sonnets are prefatory; the remaining twenty-one poems are entitled 'A Meditation of a penitent sinner, upon the 51. Psalme'. A prose version of the psalm, printed in the margins, accompanies the sonnets.

4. British Library shelf number 696.a.40.

5. Cf. the example of *italianate cursiva* in Michelle P. Brown's *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (The British Library, London, 1990), pp. 134–35.

6. 'Beneficial too is . . . the scorpion laid on the wound it has itself inflicted, or roasted and taken in food or in two cyathi of neat wine' (Pliny, *Natural History* 29.29, ed. and trans. W. H. S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library, 8 [Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1963], pp. 242–43). Similarly, William Turner, in *A new booke of spirituall Physik for dyverse diseases of the nobilite and gentlemen of Englande, made by William Turner doctor of Physik* (1555, STC 24361), comments that the Scorpion also, a death-bryngyng beste, kylled, brused, and layde to, healeth his owne poysoned byttyng' (M2^r). For the curing of 'like with like', see Augustine in *De civ. Dei* 10.8.

7. As R. J. Forbes points out in his *Short History of the Art of Distillation* (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1948), distillation in the West developed over a period of centuries, but serious applications to medical technology began in the sixteenth century.

8. Despite his avowed desire to reform the medical profession, in his preface Gessner also claims an ancient history for the practice of distillation, condemns those who have 'a folish and unsaciabie lust . . . alwaies to find out new things' (Morwyng translation A4^r), and provides an alphabetical table of authorities who are cited throughout the text.

9. *The Treasure of Euonymus, conteyninge the wonderfull hid secretes of nature, touchinge the most apte formes to prepare and destyl Medicines, for the conservation of helth* (STC 11800). Although it is not possible to uncover the original source of Lock's introduction to oil of scorpion, many Protestants championed the vernacular-writing Paracelsus and the new chemical experiments as complementary to their own religious reformation, even before R. Bostocke's defense of this view in *The Difference between the auncient Phisicke and the latter Phisicke* (1585). See also Charles Webster, 'Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine', in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989), pp. 301–34.

10. See Catherine Cole Mambretti, 'William Bullein and the "lively fashions" in Tudor medical literature', *Clio Medica*, 9 (1974), pp. 285–97.

11. *Del Modo di Distillare le Acque da tutte le Piante*. See Richard Palmer, 'Pharmacy in the Republic of Venice in the Sixteenth Century', in

The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century, ed. A. Wear, R. K. French, and I. M. Lonie (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985), p. 115.

12. References to the Galenic humors and to the new chemically distilled remedies reflect the eclectic and essentially pragmatic nature of English medical practice at this time, although it may be significant that, for Lock, the humors are associated with papisticall disorders (A4^v; A7^r). As R. S. Roberts points out, from the late fifteenth century many English medical practitioners, especially surgeons, began to rely more heavily on practical experience than on traditional academic training ('The Personnel and Practice of Medicine in Tudor and Stuart England', *Medical History*, 7 [1962], p. 219).

13. The *OED* gives the first medical citation as occurring in 1611.

14. The earliest *OED* citation is 1621.

15. The earliest *OED* citation is 1581, although William Turner had also used the term in his *A new booke of spirituall Physik for dyverse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of Englande* (1555, STC 24361), sig. K1^v.

16. See Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, 'Medical Practitioners', in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 165–235. Lock, tellingly, does not use the more opprobrious term, *empirics*, to describe the unlicensed doctors.

17. F. N. L. Poynter, 'The Influence of Government Legislation on Medical Practice in Britain', in *The Evolution of Medical Practice in Britain*, ed. F. N. L. Poynter (Pitman Medical Pub. Co., London, 1961), p. 9.

18. See Pelling and Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–88, 222–23, 233–35. They also report that Thomas Gale calculated sixty women practitioners in London in 1560 (p. 187). W. S. C. Copeman, in *Doctors and Disease in Tudor Times* (Dawson's of Pall Mall, London, 1960), indicates that the first officially recorded midwife certificate was granted by Bishop Edmund Bonner in 1558 and that the standards for nursing were quite high (pp. 48–49). In 1576 a Mrs. Cook was the resident surgeon-apothecary at Christs Hospital (F. N. L. Poynter, *Selected Writings of William Clowes* [Harvey & Blythe, London, 1948], pp. 22–23).

19. R. M. S. McConaghey, 'The History of Rural Medical Practice', in *The Evolution of Medical Practice in Britain*, pp. 124–26.

20. Such a shared vocabulary of medicine and religion was not uncommon, particularly among Protestant writers of the sixteenth century, many of whom had travelled on the Continent and were conversant with the newer developments in European medicine. Before publishing his *A new booke of spirituall Physik*, for instance, Turner, who was himself a doctor, wrote *A new herball* (1551, STC 24365). In *A new booke of spirituall Physik*, he allegorically diagnoses the maladies of the English nobility and recommends remedies for the most serious diseases: apoplexia (lack of learning), dropsie (covetousness),

Romish poxe (papisty), and leprosy (encouraging the company of shameful men).

21. The idea that physicians deserve great thanks (and appropriate compensation) was frequently repeated in sixteenth-century medical books. For instance, William Bullein's dedication in the 1559 edition of *A newe booke of Phisicke called the Government of Health* (STC 4041) reminds Thomas Hilton that nothing can compare with a physician's skill, since 'great princes, noble men, men of great substaunce, when they be wrapped & enclosed with manye a sundry sicknesses, and in daily daungers of deathe, in theyr extreme paines and passions, they do more greatlye coveit one drop of healthe then a whole tunne of gold, crying out for the help and counsel of the Phisicion. Whome Jesus Sirack, in his godli boke did counsel all wyse men to honour, and whome the almighty God, did create and ordeine for the infirmitie of mankynde, and also medicine for his helpe, and that no wyse man should despise them' (A4^v–A5^r).

22. Lock was not unique, of course, in conjoining these two kings. For instance, a marginal note in the Geneva Bible, appended to Isaiah 38, identifies the songs of Hezekiah and David as monuments to infirmity and thankfulness. The Calvin sermons themselves reference David as one whose life paralleled that of Hezekiah (e.g., Sermon One, B5^v, B7^v; Sermon Two, D1^r, D6^r; Sermon Four, F8^r).

23. But not necessarily a conservative vocabulary. In the example just given, *alknowynge* and *alworking* predate the first OED citation of any compound composed of *all* plus a present participle with the exception of the medieval *all-wielding* (OED all 7).

24. Janel M. Mueller, *The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style 1380–1580* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1984), pp. 147–61.

25. Geneva Bible (1560). Although the first edition of the Geneva Bible was issued the same year Lock's volume went to press, an earlier version of the New Testament was published in 1557. For this citation, other sixteenth-century Bible versions are not substantively different.

26. For example, *glorifié*/glorified, *estendre*/extend, *abolie*/abolished, *ordonnez*/ordained, *estate*/estate, *declarant*/declaryng (B1^r). Lock probably heard these sermons, preached in November 1557, while she was exiled in Geneva. Although the French edition, with its slight revisions from the transcribed manuscript version, did not appear until 1562, it looks as if Lock made her translation from an intermediate revision, since her text usually, but not always, follows the 1562 edition rather than the manuscript version when there is a difference between the two.

27. See, for instance, the sustained argument David Norton makes for this consistent stylistic decision in *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993).

28. Yet Hall, like Lock, praises simplicity with an elegant image: 'all his sermons seme nothyng els but the swete licour of the scriptures and lively word of god set furth before our eyes in Christalline vessels' (A2^v).

29. Margery Morgan's analysis of the rhetorical figures in the fourteenth-century *A Talking of the Love of God* as illustrative of devotional embellishment is confirmed by my own study of the style employed by Julian of Norwich in her movement from short text to long text ('*A Talking of the Love of God* and the Continuity of Stylistic Tradition in Middle English Prose Meditations', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 3 [1952], pp. 97–116).

30. John Calvin, *A Harmony of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark and Luke*, vol. 3 of *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries*, trans. A. W. Morrison and ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1972), p. 110. Lock would have had many opportunities to hear Calvin's view on literal exegesis while she was in Geneva and to read about it in his works. Although the English edition did not appear until 1584, the harmony was available in 1555 in both Latin and French, bound together with the second edition of the commentary on the Gospel of John.

31. John Calvin, *A Harmony of the Gospels*, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Calvin does, however, suggest that the brass serpent is a 'sacrament' in the same way that manna was, both providing a spiritual mystery through a physical means (John Calvin, *The Gospel according to St John, 1–10*, vol. 4 of *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries*, trans. T. H. L. Parker and ed. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance [Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1961], p. 73).

32. On the issue of *plain style*, the term is now applied in so many different ways as to be almost useless. See the brief survey in Kenneth J. E. Graham, *The Performance of Conviction: Plainness and Rhetoric in the English Renaissance* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1994), pp. 1–2. Despite the stylistic differences between the epistle and the translation, however, both exemplify variants of what Debora Shuger calls the Augustinian Christian grand style, which 'stresses the ardent, spiritual expressivity and experiential grounding of sacred discourse' and explores 'how language embodies and conveys the impassionating divine word from the heart of the preacher to the heart of his audience' (*Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* [Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1988], p. 109).

33. This circle certainly extends to the 'frend' mentioned in the head-note to the sonnets, but also possibly, through the Duchess's surrogacy to

Queen Elizabeth, whose mother, Anne Boleyn, Lock's own mother had served as a silkwoman. The inscription on the copy now in the British Library, '*Liber Henrici Lock ex dono Anna uxoris sua. 1559*', further includes Lock's husband, Henry, within the community, although he probably had not accompanied her to Geneva during her exile.

34. Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993), p. 142. The inattention to individualism does not necessarily mean, however, the loss of personality or expression. A self constituted by 'a communal inwardness created by the inner activity of the Spirit on a more or less generic human nature' as that nature responds to the drawing love of God is not a hollow entity, although it may be more properly recognised as 'an activity not a thing' (Shuger, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 234).

35. Peter W. M. Blayney, personal communication, 8 June 1994. The collation of F and L was carried out by Dr Blayney and the discussion of the press variants is entirely indebted to him.

36. John Calvin, 'Sermons sur le Cantique D'Ezechias', in *Calvini Opera*, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, and E. Reuss, 35 (Schwetschke, Brunswick, 1863–1900), p. 538. The manuscript version is identical except that *fautes* is spelled *fautes*.

37. Also noted by C. L. Oastler, in *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer*, Occasional Publication no. 10 (Oxford Bibliographical Society, Oxford, 1975), p. 29.

38. Margaret Hannay, in "'Unlock my lipps'" (p. 21) suggests that the note might be by the printer, although, given Lock's involvement with the printing process and the prior linking of Hezekiah and David in the epistle, it is unclear why Day, rather than Lock, would be adding the sonnets.

'A French Dexterity, & an Italian Confidence'

New Documents on John Florio, Learned Strangers and Protestant Humanist Study of Modern Languages in Renaissance England from c. 1547 to c. 1625

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I.

The Strangers and Evangelical Protestantism in Sixteenth-Century England

The manuscript play of the early 1590s found in British Library Harleian MS 7368 deals, in its early scenes, with the 1517 'Evil May Day' London riot against strangers living and working in the city. As stated in Edward Hall's *Chronicle*, one of the causes of this riot was the way in which the 'Genowayes, Frenchemen and other straungiers sayde and boasted themselves to be in suche favour with the kyng and his counsayll'. Sir Thomas More, whose quelling of the riot with an oratorical statement of Tudor conformist ideology is represented in the play as the means of his rapid ascent as 'state pleader' to knighthood, the Privy Council, and the Lord Chancellorship, asks the rioters where they would go in the event of banishment: 'what country, by the nature of your error, / Should give you harbour? Go you to France or Flanders, / To any German province, Spain or Portugal, / Nay anywhere that not adhere to England, / Why, you must needs be strangers . . . / . . . What would you think / To be thus used? . . .'. The rioters are ignoring international relations important to the state: in Hall their treasonous offence is reported as the breaking of the King's 'amitie with all Christen princes'. That for the historical More these would have been Catholic not Protestant rulers is elided in the play itself; there, he

is the model of a 'religious politician'. Aside from a single mention of an actor at one point in the manuscript there is no evidence that the fictional More's pleas were ever heard in an Elizabethan or Jacobean theatre. Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels, found the representation of the riot to be politically sensitive; even mere references to hostility to 'ffrenchmen' and 'straunger' were reattached to 'Lumbards' in his notes. Hostility against Lombards, a term that covers Northern Italians in general, is politically acceptable to Tilney because Northern Italian cities such as Milan and Genoa were great centres of Spanish military and Hispano-Italian financial and mercantile power in the sixteenth century.¹

Rhetorical compositions on the same subject were, however, heard in the same decade in the House of Commons. The 'Bill against Strangers born to sell by way of retail Foreign Wares brought into this Realm' introduced by the City of London into the House of Commons on 1 March 1592/93 was, according to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 'of no great moment'.² For a history of Parliament concentrated on successfully managed government business this is undeniably the case. Money was urgently needed for the funding of the continental conflicts in which England had become directly or indirectly involved. The main business of the parliamentary session was thus the granting of three subsidies and it was to this that the counsel for the City of London, Francis Moore, sought to link the bill against foreign retailers that he introduced on their behalf. Amongst those who spoke against the bill in its various manifestations, however, were not only two Lincoln's Inn lawyers acting as counsel for the strangers, but two Privy Councillors (Sir John Wolley and a cautious Robert Cecil). The bill had three readings and was referred to committee four times; on 27 March after the third reading it was passed by the Commons. It was then rejected by the Lords; Parliament was dissolved, and the bill came to nothing. The obstacles it faced and the constant referrals to committee indicate conciliar opposition to what was effectively a 'private' measure; opposition organised, we might speculate, by Lord Burghley in the Lords.³

In his speech for the strangers in one of the debates over this bill, the career lawyer Henry Finch made one of the first of his many parliamentary interventions in private and commercial questions.⁴ An anonymous diarist reported his argument that,

though they be of a church to themselves. [*sic*] Their example is profitable amongst us, for not a begger of them is found in owr streetes. Their children are no sooner able to goe but are taught to serve god and fly idlenesse. . . . This nation sure is the more blessed for their sakes. . . . But as he was for the strangers of the church, so not against law that should be made against such strangers as are not of the church but live here for merchandise only. Or those who having bene here for their conscience sake may now retorne agayne safely the fyre being quenched in their contreyes. . . . He concluded w[i]th this that in Quene Marys tyme when owr case was as theirs now, those contryes did allow us all those liberties w[hi]ch now we seeke to deny them. They are strangers now, we may be strangers hereafter, therefore let us doe as we would be done to.⁵

Finch's rhetoric, as reported, reaches back to the political and religious circumstances of the reign of Edward VI. It is here that the history of strangers in Tudor and Stuart England finds what Sergio Rossi dubs its 'heroic' phase. England suddenly became the haven for an embattled and controversial international Protestant community. While hundreds of French and Dutch Protestant refugees were beginning to organise informal worship, Thomas Cranmer was opportunistically seeking to harness the best reformed brains to the task of 'creating a Protestant state' in England. The stranger churches were founded, the Dutch at Austin Friars and the French in Threadneedle Street, as radical Protestant communities to serve as 'a model of the best Reformed practice' and as disciplinary institutions intended to regulate the opinions of the new communities and eliminate sectaries.⁶

It is likely, however, that even at this stage the strangers' churches were also recognised by statesmen as important in the economic regulation of the foreign community. Finch excludes from his charity strangers who are not of the Church and strangers who are in England either for merchandise only or for conscience only (in the latter case because, given the situation in 1593, they are able to return to their homes). This indicates that he is principally supporting a settled community of strangers whose business relations and religion are of known (because regulated by the churches) benefit to the nation. The

circumstances of the survival of the strangers' communities through the Marian era and of the reestablishment of the churches in the Elizabethan era suggest, as indicated above, that the former of these benefits was predominant in establishment minds. The important point is that active perception of the strangers' churches as institutional and political models for the reformed church of England was increasingly identified towards the end of the century with Presbyterian and not mainstream opinion.⁷

From the Henrician Reformation to the 1620s, however, official English theology was in intellectual terms almost entirely dependent on the various traditions of continental evangelical and Protestant theology, as is only too obvious from the history of theological translation. The final phase of this dependence introduced an open ideological struggle for the soul of mainstream English Protestantism—the rise of English Arminianism. Here, though, an intellectual history of theology will not help us understand theological politics: Arminianism as a theological position developed out of a Calvinist or reformed tradition of thought, whereas *English* Arminianism as a religio-political movement in the late Jacobean and the early Caroline periods represented a marked and self-conscious break from the English reformed tradition.⁸

The presence, then, at various times in Edwardian England, under Cranmer's ægis, of Bernardo Ochino, Pietro Vermigli Martire, Francis Dryander, Emanuele Tremelli, John a Lasco, Martin Bucer, and Paul Fagius as official church advisers inaugurated a long tradition of support for learned Protestant strangers, which has been traced by Foster Watson to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Martyr, however, was the last foreigner to be admitted far enough into the inner councils of the Church of England (he was one of the commissioners appointed to revise the Ecclesiastical Code in 1553) to be in a position of any real, independent *political* influence. John Hooper's and John a Lasco's early failures to make any real impact in matters of church order was an early sign of the state's intention to assert itself in religio-political affairs. From a long historical perspective, the political context of the intellectual dependence on continental reformed theology, and especially the 'Calvinist consensus', must be seen as the slow assertion of political and ecclesiastical *independence*: the establishment

of the royal supremacy and the preservation of an old system of episcopal government. Whereas, before Henry VIII, England was part of a general European system and culture, by the end of the century it had acquired 'a visibly different political and cultural style of its own', a style for which Richard Hooker was belatedly perceived to have provided the theological and ecclesiological rationale.⁹

This assertion took place, though, at the expense of what can broadly be described as an evangelical Protestant worldview, a view not to be identified with the mental set of individual Puritans, but with a set of positions and principles on morality, the religious polity and foreign policy taken up variously by individuals at specific junctures. The English church and crown under Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I did not take up these positions on a consistent or coherent basis and did not accommodate with the forces of moderate Puritanism and popular anti-popery, as the archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, and the Earl of Leicester might have wished.¹⁰

Positions of this kind are taken up, however, in Finch's speech and must have already sounded a little old fashioned by the early 1590s. That Finch does not strike an explicitly Presbyterian note, at least according to the text provided by the diarist, is not surprising given the recent removal of Presbyterianism from the ecclesiastical agenda. He admires, however, the strangers' educational and spiritual discipline and concludes that the nation is more 'blessed' for their sakes. In making his last point, which alludes to the Marian exiles, he comes interestingly close to the register of the fictional More. Here the notion of a pan-European Protestant 'cause' or 'amity' animating foreign policy is clearly at work.*

Finch's speech, then, clearly indicates the survival of the ideological relationship between an evangelical Protestant worldview, especially a

*Amongst the real contributions of the Marian refugees to the age of Elizabeth, Hasler identifies an 'awareness and knowledge of contemporary continental culture' and 'a more sophisticated and better informed diplomatic and espionage system built upon the contacts and information acquired abroad during the Marian diaspora' (*The House of Commons 1558–1603*, ed. Hasler, I, pp. 108, 110).

concern for educational and spiritual discipline, and protection for the strangers. For learned strangers actively seeking such protection, the chief opportunity was the tradition of political support for Protestant evangelism associated in the first instance with figures such as the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Bedford, to a lesser extent Lord Burghley and the Queen, and, in general, families of Marian exiles such as the Nowells. This survived in the hands of patrons and prelates who claimed inheritance of that tradition, figures such as the earls of Essex, Southampton, and Pembroke, and the archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot.¹¹

The practical result was the placement of continental students and academics at the universities and the hiring of secretaries, tutors, and advisers in private households, including the Royal. Prominent among these were Jean Hotman,* Alberico Gentili,[†] and Giovan Battista Castiglione. The latter, for example, had been Elizabeth's 'præceptor' (most probably tutor in Italian) before the Marian era and was immediately rewarded for his fidelity, on her accession, with the position of gentleman groom of the privy chamber and the seat of Benham Valence in Berkshire. He acted as patron, intercessor, and adviser to other learned strangers, both on behalf of Robert Cecil and the Earl of Leicester.¹²

*Hotman, a Huguenot, served as Latin secretary and legal adviser to the Earl of Leicester from 1582 until the earl's death, except for a short period in Paris in 1585. See Rosenberg, *Leicester*, pp. 269–70.

[†]Gentili was recommended to the University of Oxford by the Earl of Leicester. He advised, with Hotman, on the treatment of the Spanish ambassador condemned for conspiracy, Bernadino de Mendoza, who was allowed to leave the country. Gentili was connected with or dedicated works to Sir Philip Sidney, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, and the Earl of Essex, and his work *De iure belli* contained arguments supportive of the international Protestant cause. The last work published in his lifetime (1605) was a defence of the divine right of kings (*Regales disputationes tres*), dedicated to James I by his son, Robert. See John Barton, 'The Faculty of Law (Appendix: The King's Readers)', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, 3, *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986), pp. 257–93; Rosenberg, *Leicester*, pp. 286–93; John Tedeschi, 'I contributi culturali dei riformatori protestanti nel tardo Rinascimento', *Italica*, 64 (1987), pp. 19–61 (pp. 35, 39); J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Francis Cairns, Leeds, 1990), pp. 338–39, 346–50.

Less public even than the careers of these still relatively low-profile strangers was the unofficial English career of Antonio Pérez, the exiled Catholic secretary of Philip II of Spain, envoy for Henri IV of France. His memoranda on international anti-Spanish strategy were of use to the Queen and Burghley, and he was paid by the Earl of Essex for intelligence work from 1593 until such time as his usefulness ran out when the Treaty of Vervins made accommodation with Spain more paramount than war.¹³

The perception that the strangers' churches played a role as models of church polity was confined towards the century's end to an increasingly marginalised Presbyterian minority, though they were still held to play an important role in the economic regulation of the foreign community. The ecclesiastical prominence enjoyed by early ministers of the strangers' churches such as Ochino was disallowed in Elizabeth's reign, but ministers and elders of the French and Dutch churches such as Nicholas des Gallars, Jan Utenhove, Peter Loiseleur de Villiers, Robert de Maçon, sieur de la Fontaine, Jean Castol, and, under Cromwell, Jean Baptiste Stoupe, were clearly very useful as diplomatic intermediaries and political intelligencers. In divided post-Reformation Europe, diplomacy was conducted less through summitry and the journeys of princes, prelates, and their extravagant retinues, and more through cloak-and-dagger negotiations conducted by semi-professional intermediaries.¹⁴

Jacopo Aconcio,¹⁵ Antonio del Corro,* and Peter Baro are early examples of learned strangers of an Arminian or latitudinarian bent whose ecclesiastical politics deviated in a 'forward' and historically

*Corro, Cyprian de Valera, and Casiodoro de Reina form a particularly interesting trio of Spanish evangelicals who started as young monks with Erasmian and crypto-Protestant leanings in the Spanish monastery of San Isidro and who all left Spain to evade the Inquisition. Corro and Reina remained resistant to orthodox Calvinism while Valera embraced it. See A. Gordon Kinder, 'Religious Literature as an Offensive Weapon', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19 (1988), pp. 223–35 (pp. 223–25); Collinson, 'Calvinism', pp. 92–101; Firpo, 'La Chiesa Italiana', pp. 328–31, 343–55, 362–71; *DNB*, 'Corro, Antonio de, otherwise Corranus and Bellerive (1527–1591)'; Rosenberg, *Leicester*, pp. 135–36.

premature manner from English Protestant norms. John Whitgift in a letter of 1595 wrote that the Queen was offended with Baro* 'for that he being a stranger and so well used dare presume to stir up or maintain any controversy . . . of what nature soever . . . Non decet hominem peregrinum curiosum esse in aliena republica'. Like Elizabethan men-of-business, the discreet pragmatics were those who did not get publically identified as 'forward' or *curiosus* in relation to establishment positions on important religious or political issues.¹⁶ New positions and new opportunities became apparent, however, in the changing contexts of Whitgiftian and Jacobean ecclesiastical policy: Hadrian à Saravia was enlisted to the conformist cause and Marco Antonio de Dominis's ecumenicism proved temporarily timely.¹⁷

In the long term it was probably, then, more in their provision of practical teaching and literary materials than in their contribution to theology and ecclesiology that the learned strangers' religious pedagogy ('Their children are no sooner able to goe but are taught to serve god and fly idlenesse. . . . This nation sure is the more blessed for their sakes') had its greatest impact. A case in point from the Edwardian period is that of Michelangelo Florio, John Florio's father.

A letter of 20 November 1552 from the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, to William Cecil shows that Michelangelo Florio's protection was in the hands of the leading Edwardian supporters of the English reform. Cranmer tells Cecil that he has written to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 'in the favour of Michael Angelo: whose cause I pray you [i.e., Cecil] to helpe as moche as lieth in you'.¹⁸ At this point Michelangelo turned to the compilation of manuscripts and the publication of literary materials which seek to publicise

*Through conflicts with moderate Puritans such as Laurence Chaderton, Baro became champion of a more liberal theology of grace and is described by Tyacke as an 'Elizabethan Arminian *avant la lettre*'. He came under attack from the university authorities and eventually abandoned Cambridge. See *DNB*, 'Baro, Peter (1534–1599)'; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* (Secker and Warburg, London, 1987), pp. 45–47; Baron Fernand de Schickler, *Les Églises de Refuge en Angleterre*, 3 vols, 1 (Fischbacher, Paris, 1892), pp. 235–38; Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 220.

and consolidate the relationship between his new occupation, private tuition in the Italian language, and the reforming piety of the group headed by Northumberland and Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, father of the Protestant claimant to the throne ousted by Mary Tudor, Lady Jane Grey. He dedicated one copy of a manuscript grammar of the Tuscan tongue to Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and another to Lady Jane Grey, whose tutor in Italian he had become. He also translated John Ponet's *Catechismus brevis*, a summary of Christian learning intended for schoolmasters, into Italian and dedicated it to Northumberland. He fled Marian England and finally joined John Ponet at Strasbourg, where he received part of the fund allocated by Duke Christopher of Württemberg to English exiles. He also obtained from John Banks and James Haddon (younger brother to Walter Haddon of the 'Athenian tribe', chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk and tutor to Lady Jane) the papers of Lady Jane Grey which went into his Italian work on the history of her life and death, first published in London in 1607. This history presents Lady Jane as one of the 'elect' heroines of the English Reformation.¹⁹

II.

The Strangers and Modern Language Teaching

Before the Edwardian Reformation, the sojourns of foreign humanists in England took place in the context of official commissions in noblemen's households or university appointments and were circumscribed by the official neo-Latin culture associated with ecclesiastical and court chancelleries. These humanists and their reputations were employed as academic and diplomatic standard-bearers for a cultural élite, as is particularly clear in the case of Erasmus. After the Reformation, starting in Europe in the 1530s and 1540s, accelerating in England in the 1570s and 1580s, this international neo-Latin culture was increasingly vulgarised and secularised; its lingua franca became a continuum of languages that most usually included Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, while the earlier dominance of the Erasmian 'philosophy of Christ' as an explicit rationale for language-learning gave way to an increasingly pragmatic emphasis on the need created by political, commercial, and cultural dealings with foreign cultures, whether within the same religio-political alliance or not.²⁰

The *career* aspirations of foreign, especially Italian, intellectuals were formulated, however, within parameters similar to those of the pre-Reformation period. In terms of political office, a foreign humanist might aspire to the position of private Latin secretary (to monarch or councillor), or, as it became with the slow decline of ambassadorial Latin and the rise in the diplomatic use of the modern languages, secretary for the foreign tongues.²¹

It is important to understand that the bottom rung of this particular ladder was casual employment as a private language teacher and that the way up was the demonstration of political usefulness and 'discretion'. Two publications and a manuscript of 1579–1582 tell us that John Florio sought at Oxford to succeed to the employment of his father by approaching the Earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley (son of Michelangelo's patron, John, and brother of Lady Jane Grey's husband) and members of his entourage, some of whom were connected with a group of progressive Oxford scholars,* with whom Florio also had contact, centred primarily on Christ Church.²² Florio matriculated to Magdalen College, Oxford in 1581 as servitor to Emmanuel Barnes, a lowly college servant with very little chance of pursuing a degree. His position as private Italian secretary to Queen Anne was the fulfillment of an aspiration pursued over a period of at least twenty-five years. In the manuscript collection of proverbs dedicated to Sir Edward Dyer from Oxford on 12 November 1582, Florio recounts how he was constrained by necessity to join the ranks of

*H. R. Woudhuysen in 'Leicester's Literary Patronage: A Study of the English Court 1578–82' (unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1980) identifies the common interests of Oxford scholars who were connected or sought connection with Leicester as liberal theology, international law, geography and exploration, and the study of history and politics, especially in Machiavelli and Tacitus (pp. 56–81). The milieu of those scholars with a practical interest in geography and navigation can be followed up in Stephanus Budæus Parmenius, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*, ed. and tr. David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1972), pp. 8–22, and James McConica, 'Elizabethan Oxford: The Collegiate Society', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, 3, pp. 645–732 (pp. 716–21).

the private language teachers at Oxford and to become a professional reader concerned with the collection of Italian *copia* for his gentleman pupils and patrons.* He thus became one of a number of largely anonymous foreign humanists who contributed to the unofficial development of the arts curriculum in the area of modern languages. These teachers formed a tutorial subspecies answering to the same demands as the college tutors: the need for a personally directed course of cultural education broader than that expected in the university statutes. They complemented and overlapped with a body of teachers employed in private households. This pedagogical activity gained, however, no official recognition. Whereas Sir Humphrey Gilbert declared a knowledge of history, geography, and modern languages essential for the production of men of action capable of serving the state, the Oxford statutes failed to mention any of these subjects.²³

The teaching of modern languages was methodologically and ideologically dependent on the new, humanist traditions of Latin teaching. There were theoreticians of vernacular grammar, such as Thomas Linacre, Petrus Ramus, and Julius Caesar Scaliger, but most pedagogues were less concerned with grammatical theory and more with direct methods of teaching usage and idiom. Only in Italian was there a properly 'classical' tradition concentrated in the manner of Lorenzo Valla on identification of perfect usage in the works of canonical authors (in this case Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch). Even here, though, some Italian writers and linguists began to put emphasis heavily on contemporary, spoken usage and to admit non-Florentine

*Yates, *Florio*, p. 53. On the servitors and their prospects of study, see McConica, 'Elizabethan Oxford', p. 668. The remarks addressed to Dyer can be found in British Library, Additional MS 15214: Florio relates how '*costretto à far di necessità virtù, e per viver sforzato à pigliar quel carico sopra di me, d'insegnar la lingua Italiana à qualche scolare in cotesta tanto celebre Academia d'ossonia, et ivi stravolgendo, e leggendo qualche libro, mi venne questo capriccio in testa, di cogliere, scegliere, e notare que' piu proverbii, ò riboboli, e motti, che leggendo io trovavo, et parlando mi venivano alla mente, et che di continuo in Italia, od in altri luoghi da gli'Italiani s'usano*' (fols 7^v-8^r). The proverbs are offered in payment of an unspecified '*debito*'.

authors into the canon. This is very clear in John Florio's language manuals and in his predilection for *cinquecento* Lombardo–Venetian authors such as Anton Francesco Doni, Pietro Aretino, and Nicolò Franco.²⁴

Neo-Latin models for the vernacular conversation manuals were the *Linguae latinae exercitatio* of Vives, the *Colloquiorum scholasticorum libri IIII* of Maturin Cordier, and the *Dialogi* of Sebastian Castellion.²⁵ In all the modern languages, but especially in French, there were strong attempts, evident in these manuals and their models, to establish the relationship between the teaching of the language in question and the practical inculcation of Protestant piety and civility.²⁶ This relationship was actually enforced by the French church in London, when all the French schoolmasters were summoned before the consistory in 1560 to ascertain how many belonged to the church and what books were being used.²⁷ Claudius Holyband (also known as Claude Desainlien) sought to give his French conversation manual Protestant credibility by modelling its presentation on Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (1570).*

In the case of the more consciously composed of the dialogues, not only the teacher's religio-political orientation but his professional ambitions and frustrations are communicated. This is certainly the case in *The French garden for English ladyes and gentlewomen to walke in* (1606) by Pierre Erondelle, a Huguenot refugee whose first publication urged Protestant intervention in the French religious wars and who was, like Florio, approached by Richard Hakluyt about the translation of accounts of colonial voyages (resulting in the dedication of a translated account of French colonisation of Newfoundland to Prince Henry in 1609). The female world of *The French garden* is, according to Juliet Fleming, a 'place he [Erondelle] has created to fulfill his own political and emotional needs'.²⁸

Studies of these modern language materials have largely neglected the evidence concerning the political context of their compilation and intended use. William Thomas, for example, who published *The principle rules of the Italian grammar, with a dictionarie for the better*

*The title is *The French schoolemaister* (1573) and the manual is dedicated to Robert Sackville, the young student with whom Ascham is concerned in his treatise.

understanding of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante (1550) and *The historie of Italie* (1549), is usually billed as the earliest in a line of humanist Italian scholars and popularisers leading to Giovanni Torriano. But he also forged a political career for himself via propaganda for the Henri-cian regime in Italy. His letters to the young King Edward before and after his appointment as clerk of the Privy Council reveal that Thomas regarded himself as a kind of private political instructor in the Machiavellian tradition: he sent one letter of advice on the reform of the coinage secretly with the Privy Council minutes and suggested that Edward use the material without acknowledgement so as to gain credit with his Councillors.²⁹

The burgeoning role of modern languages in the 1570s and 1580s as part of an alternative humanistic curriculum geared for social and political success is reflected in the sheer number of linguistic and rhetorical manuals released or reissued onto the market. A significant proportion of these came from the presses of the Huguenot printer and bookseller Thomas Vautrollier.³⁰ One volume in particular published by Vautrollier testifies to the persistence of the nexus between the ideology of the Protestant state, learned strangers, and the study of modern languages. Charles Merbury's *A briefe discourse of royall monarchie* (1581), which contains a collection of Italian proverbs very similar to, though smaller than Florio's manuscript collection, emerged from the same milieu of progressive Oxford scholars. The particular set of connections to which we are led by the *Briefe discourse* are those between the President of Magdalen, Lawrence Humfrey, Merbury's tutor 'in the studies of humanitie', Merbury's companion Henry Unton, and the learned stranger, Stephen Parmenius, who celebrated British imperialism and Sir Humphrey Gilbert's new world ventures in a Latin poem (*De navigatione*) published in 1582.³¹

Merbury's volume could hardly be more pragmatic and occasional. The fact that it draws on and translates parts of Jean Bodin's highly fashionable work of absolutist political theory, *Six livres de la République*, can only be timely, given the presence of Bodin in England as legal adviser to the Duc d'Anjou. At the beginning of its adumbration of a theory of unaccountable imperial sovereignty for the dedicatee, Elizabeth, intellectual backup is invoked in the form of John Dee, 'who hath very learnedly of late (in certaine tables by him collected out of

sundry auncient, and approved writers) shewed unto her Maiestie, that shee may iustly call her selfe LADY, and EMPERES of all the Northe Ilandes'. There is no incongruity to be found in the placing together of a work of political theory and a collection of Italian proverbs if the volume as a whole is seen as a demonstration of the pragmatic usefulness of the humanist education received by Merbury. The collection of proverbs, in fact, like Florio's, serves the function of a literary *pragmaticus*, '*ministrandovi qualche bel motto, ò qualche bel detto per confirmar le vostre ragioni*'.³²

It was the Cambridge humanist Gabriel Harvey who famously complained in a published letter of April 1580 to Edmund Spenser and in another letter written out in his letter-book of the 1570s, that Greek and Latin philosophy and oratory were being replaced on Cambridge scholars' desks by an unofficial curriculum of French and Italian politic discourses and poetry.³³ The importance to the pragmatic humanist, however, of a 'ready' or conversational (as opposed to oratorical) skill in Latin and the modern languages, and of access to European vernacular histories and political works, is particularly clear in the case of Harvey and his library.³⁴ At the Huntington Library in California are five language manuals, two works on contemporary France, and a French-English edition of a Latin Old Testament, all owned by Harvey and containing annotations giving some indication as to the focus of his study. Near the beginning of his copy of Antonio de Corro's *Spanish grammar* the terms Harvey uses to praise French and Spanish indicate a concentration on diplomatic and practical usefulness: '*Præcipua Lingua hodiernarum Negotiationum Anglicarum; Francica, et Hispanica: Vtraque maximarum Artium, Actionumque Locupletissimus Thesaurus*'. On the verso of the title page of his copy of *An excellent discourse upon the now present estate of France*, which Harvey signed August 1592, he writes: 'Varieties of accidents, & manie pregnant practiques have refined divers French wittes, even aboove the sharpest Italians, or Spaniards at this instant', and below this, 'Vigener, de Mornay, de Montaigne, du Bartas; This & other frensh Discourers, how rare witts?' This is the earliest known reference to Michel Eyquem de Montaigne in English letters and the context is clear. Later in the same volume, Harvey writes, 'French Pragmaticians: the chieftest employed men of the court, & state'.³⁵

III.

Gabriel Harvey and the Study
of Florio's Italian–English Language Manuals

Harvey also owned a copy of *Florio his firste fruities*, now held in the Houghton Library at Harvard.³⁶ We know from this copy that John Florio was his tutor in Italian and possibly French, though it is difficult to say precisely when.* Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine have placed it amongst a group of historical, political, and linguistic texts belonging to Harvey, which are inscribed with the date '1580' at some point in the marginalia. The texts include Peter Withorne's translation of Machiavelli's treatise on war, William Thomas's *Historie of Italie*, Richard Moryson's translation of Frontinus, Æ. (sic) Ratcliffe's translation of Pierre de la Place's discourses (*Politique discourses, treating of the differences and inequalities of vocations*), and Pierre du Ploiche's *Treatise in Englishe and Frenche*. The year 1580 was crucial in Harvey's eventually failed career, for in August Edmund Spenser left his post as secretary to the Earl of Leicester to accompany Lord Grey to Ireland, and Harvey entered the earl's service in Spenser's place.³⁷ Grafton and Jardine focus their study of Harvey's annotations on his copy of Livy and establish distinct political contexts corresponding to different readings performed at different times in the same volume. Two of these readings were clearly intended to inform action, whether diplomatic or military: three books read with Philip Sidney before his ambassadorial visit to the court of Rudolph II and a reading at Hill House which

*At the end of the text, before the grammatical section, Harvey writes at the top: 'Florio, & Eliot mie new London Companions for Italian, & French[e]. Two of the best for both' (sig. Eer^v). This must be John Eliot. Below this, and above 'FINIS' Harvey praises 'Eliots French Dialogues', which must refer to the *Ortho-epia gallica*, published in 1593. If the two notes are contemporary, and if Harvey is not referring to manuscript dialogues (he owned a copy of the printed work), then it means that Florio did not become Harvey's tutor much before 1593. For Harvey's annotations in his copy of Eliot, see Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 211, and Bourland, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–102, where it is recorded, for example, that he underlined a passage describing Queen Elizabeth's love for strangers and her command of languages.

led to a debate on Elizabethan military strategy amongst participants involved in the conquest and settlement of Ireland.³⁸

When Harvey was reading the *Firste fruites* his mind was on the necessity for a successful secretary and diplomat to combine a grasp of law and policy with a mastery of languages. There is some evidence that an impatience with grammatical rote-learning is the background to his resort to the dialogues.* The book is clearly read in conjunction with other books. He makes reference to other language and courtesy manuals ('table philosophy') he considers necessary to his course of study.³⁹ He transcribes a section dealing with the oratory and eloquence of the Florentines from Thomas's *Historie of Italie* to complement Florio's own collection of commonplaces on the question of 'what profite commeth to those that can reade, write, & speake many languages?'†

Around the margins of the English grammar and covering the end leaves are materials collected by Harvey from diverse sources relating principally to the life of Bishop Stephen Gardiner and Henrician political culture. Virginia Stern has suggested that these were put together with the intention of writing a life of Gardiner, largely on the basis of the caption at the top of sig. Ss4^r: 'The politike historie of Doctor Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, & afterward

*Against the beginning of the section on verbs in the Italian grammar, Harvey comments that this is 'the only part, that requires study: the rest offerith itself' (sig. L14^r). In transcribing these annotations I have attempted to give some indication of Harvey's emphases as they occur in the form of underlinings, but no indication is given of other types of emphasis, such as starring or vertical marginal lines. Harvey's 'u' is transcribed as 'v', where modern spelling would require it. The long 'j' is transcribed as 's'. Square brackets indicate expansions from abbreviations and letters lost when the pages of the copy were trimmed. The letter 'y' is not expanded to 'th' except in the case of 'their'.

†The question is asked by one interlocutor in a dialogue and answered by the other (sig. N3^v). 'The florentines ar[e] com[m]only notid to be great Discoursers, courtous, and very spare of lyving. I wyll not deny (quoth W. Thomas in there History) but many of them use much talk; w[hi]ch I thynk proceedith of the desyer they have to seem Eloquent' (sig. Pr^r).

L. Chancelour of England'.⁴⁰ This argument does not take into account, however, that this supposed 'caption' may actually begin at the top of sig. S53^v with 'Novum Tuscanismi speculum', so that the annotation running across the two pages constitutes a reference to a work—a 'politique historie'—by Gardiner.*

Whatever the specific intellectual project behind this collection of materials may be, it can be seen on a more general level as Harvey's answer to the question concerning the profit of languages. Many of the marginalia around the main text relate success and political prominence to mastery of languages, both in terms of comprehension and eloquence. There is a note which records the commendations of the Queen by Jan Utenhove (minister of the Dutch church) and Roger Ascham, not only for her classical but her modern languages, while 'Cardan' (Girolamo Cardano) is recorded as commending King Edward in similar terms 'for speaking Latin, French, & his own, most reddily, & exactly' (sig. C3^v). One note names a group of successful English courtiers and political associates who speak Italian: '*quomodo Comes Leicestrensis, Dominus Hattonus, Eques Sidneius, multiq[ue] pra[e]clari Aulici nostrates fluentissime loquuntur linguam Italicam*'.[†] This political Protestant grouping is compatible with Harvey's emphasis both of a passage praising the 'glorious militant Church' and

*Other materials relating to Gardiner can be found elsewhere in the volume: at sig. I2^v Harvey records a 'lesson of an owld Ambassador to Bysshop Stephen Gardiner' and 'A proverb in Wynchesters Sermon before king Edward VI', and at sig. S2^r a comment made by 'Winchester to y[e] Lord Protector' is recorded. The possibility that the rationale behind this collection of materials is not an impending biography but reading in Machiavellian political literature, including the 'Novum Tuscanismi speculum' of Gardiner himself, is being explored by my colleague Lisa Jardine and by William Sherman of the University of Maryland (College Park).

[†]Sig. A3^r. For the rest of this note, see Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 156, n. 24. Written down the right-hand margin of sig. Tt1^v is 'Sir Francis Walsingham, now the Queenes secretarie, & secret discoverer of states, & statesmen, reputed the archintelligencer of the World'. After the end of the text there is a list of 'Worthies': 'the Earle of Essex, the Earle of Cumberland, the Earle of Sowthampton: the Lord Willowbie: Sir Philip Sidney' (sig. [Tt]3^v).

a Plutarchan address to Trajan, which Harvey's note summarises as a description of the 'mysticall boddy of the Empire, or any kingdom' (sigs V2^r, X3^r).

Annotations and markings in the chapter of 'Reasonynges uppon Learnyng, and Philosophie' likewise evidence a general interest in the uses of reading and eloquence. His comments on Florio's commonplace claims regarding the general usefulness of the classics to rulers, which are endorsed by 'The right us[e] of Reading' in the right-hand margin, focus in the bottom margin on the Roman canon and the special relevance of 'Romana Virtus' to modern needs (sig. N4^r). Harvey later in the same chapter takes Florio's enumeration of the commodities of eloquence seriously enough to make a marginal cross-reference to his own notes at the 'ends of my Quintilian' (sig. P1^r). On the page on which Florio gathers the commonplaces concerning the employment of classical scholars as tutors and advisers by emperors and kings, Harvey's note in the top margin, unfortunately trimmed, reads: 'The greatest person[] in the world, hav[e] made choyse of sum [ry? . . .] learnid men, or oth[] for there [*sic*] famil[y]'.*

This is all consonant with what can be deduced from the materials gathered at the back of the volume concerning the nature of Harvey's interest in Gardiner. Harvey's collection emphasises the fact that Gardiner's skills in the civil and canon law and in Latin and the modern languages made him indispensable as a polemicist and diplomat under the Henrician regime.⁴¹ Many of the notes compare Gardiner in this respect with other scholars and statesmen of his generation.

*Sig. P4^r. In chapter 39, a miscellaneous collection from Guevara, Harvey underlines and stars the exchanges between Cressus, King of Lidia and Anatharsus the philosopher. He places within large inverted commas a passage which includes the former's promise to make the latter 'the onely counsellor of my affayres, Secretarie of my secretes, father of my chyldren, refourmer of my kyngdome, mayster of my person, head of my common Weale'. At the end of the chapter, Harvey writes: 'Good counsel is much worth: yet good counsel is nothing worth, withowt good Execution. Counsel, y[e] Eie: & Execution, y[e] hand of all Worthines, & honour' (sigs Aa1^v–Aa2^r, Aa4^r).

The comparison with his contemporary, Nicholas Wotton, another great ambassador, is cast in terms very similar to those of the debate between Crassus and Antonius in the first book of Cicero's *De oratore*: 'Wootton had the text, & glosse of the Lawe bie hart Verbatim: Gardiner the matter, & substance. Two pregnant advocats in anie dowlfull, or subtile case of whatsoever importance' (sig. Ss4^r). Much of the margins of sigs Ss4^v and Ttr^r is taken up by comparisons between Thomas Cromwell and Gardiner. One note runs:

This Gardiner, the cunningest Statesman, finest pragmatician, & currentest Ambassadour of his time: ad omnia quare, in whatsoever negotiations of importance, or prac-tis. Howbeit Cromwell, sumwhat more prompt in Utterance, & more pregnant to court the humour of the king, with a French Dexteritie, & an Italian Confidence . & in that respect, the finer Courtier to serve his owne turne, & to possess his master: a soverai[gn] [p]oint in a monarchie. His utterance Great & cle[?a]r: ever present, & flowing, withowt [he]sitation; [n]or [a]ffectation, [b]ut a conce[?rt]ed Dexte[r]itie. [T]he best [p]ronu[n]ciation [o]f all other: [&] he the [b]oldest speaker, & [r]esolutest [p]ragmatiqu[e] [o]f all other. [S]o mightie a King, [&] so wise; woold never have affected him so extraordinarily; had not his speach bene current, his Witt pregnant, his behaviour cumlie; & his Industrie most serviceable, with a matchles & invincible Vigour.*

*The note begins in the bottom left-hand corner of sig. Ss4^v and is written vertically up the page. It fills that margin and continues down the bottom margin and up the right-hand margin. Squeezed in between lines of script and above 'Confidence . & in that' is the word 'Audacitie:'. The evidence that the 'his' of 'his utterance' refers to Gardiner and not Cromwell, besides the fact that the collection concentrates on Gardiner and describes him frequently in these terms, is that Harvey returns to the comparison with Cromwell later in the same note: 'Cromwell for a monarchie the finer pragmatician'. At the bottom of the left-hand margin on sig. Ttr^v, Gardiner's special properties are described as 'Industrie, & Confidence: next after Lawe & Languages'.

The success of Cromwell and Gardiner, whose religio-political orientations were directly opposed, is thus presented in the same, entirely pragmatic terms.* The most important implication for the argument of this article is that comprehension of and fluency in Latin and the modern languages can so clearly be associated not with religious and moral integrity but with the political efficacy that results from French dexterity, Italian confidence, and the other qualities mentioned. These are further identified, in another note on the first blank page after the English grammar, as the 'Cheife qualities in Castilios Courtier: To be well spoken, and fayer languaged: To be wellseen in Tongues, especially in Italian, French, & Spanish: To be wise, & wellseene in Discourses upon states: to be hable to allege good, & probable Reasons upon every matter'.⁴²

In historical terms Harvey's collection of materials focuses on contemporary witnesses' perceptions of the antagonism between Gardiner and the English Reformation and on the highly controversial Edwardian issue of Gardiner's place in the late Henrician regime. Glyn Redworth has argued that this antagonism should not be understood as a monolithic *doctrinal* opposition between Catholic bishop and Protestantising regime, but as the result of an increasing failure on the part of Gardiner to convince the Edwardian Privy Council that he accepted the evangelical *spirit* of the Edwardian reforms.⁴³ Harvey's annotations show that, in collecting materials for whatever reason on the subject of Gardiner, Harvey had been reading in what remains one of the principal

*Even if the last quotation is taken to refer to Cromwell my point still holds, for another note makes it clear that no moral or ideological distinction is being made between Gardiner and Cromwell, that their abilities are being compared on an equal, pragmatic footing: 'A man [Gardiner] reputed singularly wise, politique, & learned: especially in Lawe, and matters of State. A man much employed in greatest Councells, Ambassages, Judgments, and all Occurrences of state. The notablest polititian, [y(e)] greatest pragmatician of his time: next his master, Cardinall Wolsey: even abooke his fellow, the famous Lord Cromwell: an other rare politician in his kinde, & a great Experimenter of Fortune, by a singular Industry, & Audacity. Two notable & rare men in their deseines, & practises' (down the right-hand margin and along the bottom margin of sig. Ttr^r).

sources for modern biographers of Gardiner—John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* (editions in 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583, 1596) and, particularly, in Foxe's documentation of the Bishop of Winchester's trial in 1550–1551, which appears only in the first edition.*

During the fourth session against Gardiner at Lambeth, on 8 January 1551, the Bishop was permitted to answer some of the positions he had not previously answered and also, if he so chose, to propose his own matter justificatory. He did propose such matter—eighty-five articles, in fact, of justification. During the seventh session, on 19 January 1551, members of the Privy Council were produced in order to be examined on these articles. In making transcriptions from this vast body of material Harvey is highly selective. He makes a transcription of the answers of the witnesses concerning the 'fourth Article in the matter Justificatory, purposed by Winchester, in y[e] processe of his Articles; and Examinations upon thesame'. The fourth article was Winchester's claim that he was in 'such reputation, and æstimation of y[e] Counsellours of owr late Sovereigne Lord . . . that he was by there [*sic*] good contentme[nt] used in counsel, to have y[e] speach in y[r] name, to y[e] Ambassadors of Scotland[e], the French kinge, and y[e] Emperour, within xiiii da[ies] or thereabout, of y[e] death of owr late soveraign[e] Lord'. The Privy Councillors in question are 'Lord

*I have used John Foxe, *Actes and monumentes of these latter and perillous dayes* (London, 1563). From the second, 1570 edition through to the 1596 edition, the heading of the section dealing with Gardiner is amended to 'The story of Steuen Gardiner Bish. of Winchester, briefly collected, the residue whereof concerning his acts and doings, may further appeare in the booke of Actes and Monuments in the first edition, page. 728', while a prefatory note is added saying that since the editor has decided for the sake of space to leave out 'his idle letters, his long processe of Articles and examinations, his tedious talke with the multitude of depositions brought in against him, & other his actes and interlocutories superfluous, I minde here (the Lord willing) brieflie and summarilie to excerpe onlie the principall effectes, as to the storie maie seeme most appertinent, referring the residue to be searched (if anie reader so list to do) to the booke of Monumentes aforesaide, beginning in the page. 728'. This text is quoted from the 1596 edition, vol. 2, sigs Bbbbbb3^v–Bbbbbb4^r.

Pagett', 'the Duke of Somerset', 'Th'earle of Wilshyre, high Treasurer of England', 'The Marques of Northampton, L. great Chamberlain', 'The Lord Rich, L. Chancelour', 'Thearle of Warwick', 'Thearl of Bedford', 'Syr William Harbert knight', 'Syr John Baker knight', and 'Cutbert Bysshop of Duresme'.*

All testify that Gardiner was indeed used as a spokesman in the manner claimed and place particular emphasis on his knowledge of French. Harvey notes that the Bishop of Durham (whose deposition is generally supportive of Gardiner) asserted 'that when anything was in contention, or in debate betwene the French King, Theemperour, & the Kinges Maiesty that dead is, for Leagues: the said Bysshop, if he were present, was allwai[e]s callid to make answer; bycause he had y[e] French tongue perfectly, & knew thaffairs betwene them, & us' (sig. Tt4^v). But most of those whose depositions on the matter of article four are noted by Harvey seek explicitly to discount the fact of the usefulness of Gardiner as an expert civil lawyer, politician, and linguist as evidence that he was held in any esteem: the Duke of Somerset is reported as saying that Gardiner was used to answer the ambassadors 'because he had y[e] Languages; more then for any other respect'; the Marquess of Northampton 'that he never knew him have that credditt, nor so used, otherwise then for y[e] tonguessake:

*Harvey's *Firste fruites*, sig. [Tt4]^{r-v}. The relevant depositions can be found as follows: Foxe, *op. cit.*, sig. BBb2^v [p. 784a]; sig. DDd6^v [p. 816a: 'Lord Paget']; sig. EEe1^v [p. 818a: 'The ryght honorable Lorde, Edward Duke of Somerset']; sig. EEe2^r [p. 819b: 'The right honorable Earle of Wilshyre, high Treasurer of Englande']; sig. EEe2^v [p. 821 a: 'The right honorable Lord, William, Marques of Northampton, Lorde great Chamberlain of England']; sig. EEe3^{r-v} [pp. 821-b822a: 'Sir Richard Rich, knight, Lord Rich Lord Chauncellor of England']; sig. EEe3^v [p. 822b: 'The right honorable Lord John, Earle of Warwick'—Harvey has here incorporated the oath from the opening of the deposition into the text of Warwick's reply to the fourth article]; sig. EEe4^v [p. 824b: 'The ryght honorable John Earle of Bedford, Lord privy seale']; sig. EEe5^r [p. 825b: 'Syr Wylliam Harbert knyght']; sig. EEe5^v [p. 826b: 'Sir Jhon Baker, knight, one of the kinges maiestyes counsaile']; sig. FFf1^r [p. 829a: 'Cuthbert Byshoppe of Duresme, one of the kynges moste honorable privy Consaile'].

wherein no other peradventure cowld supply sowell as he, at such tyme, as other having languages, were abs[ent]'; the Earl of Bedford that Gardiner may have been so used for 'y[e] tounsake, when others were absent: yet they did not best lyke his dooinges in matter of religion'; Sir William Herbert that he answered 'not of office, but of y[e] place, and occasions; as manytymes meaner men doo' (*ibid.*). The distinction between answering 'of office' and being hired, like a *pragmaticus*, to answer at a particular place on a particular occasion is what commands respect from Herbert, not legal and rhetorical ability in itself.

The 'politic' lesson Harvey might have learned from this episode, in which, as a would-be 'orator', he showed such specific interest, is clear. A studied command of law and languages would be very likely to make the humanist of use to the state and the Privy Council, but in the Edwardian period such command could only be sanctioned as *morally* laudable, given the seal of public approval and 'office', where the 'orator' in question was seen to sit well with official religious policy and discipline.⁴⁴

The majority of the materials collected on the five final extant pages of Harvey's annotations in Florio appear to come from Foxe's *Actes and monuments*. They include letters from Gardiner to the Lord Protector and testimony of the Earl of Warwick concerning King Henry's desire to remove Gardiner's name from his will.* We also find inserted Harvey's note from Ascham's *Scholemaster* of the terms of Ascham's disapproval of Gardiner's 'quick hedd' and 'reddy Tongue'. This comes just before a passage from Foxe's 'Hystorie co[n]teynyng the lyfe, actes and death, of the moste famous and worthy man, the Lorde Thomas Cromwell':⁴⁵

*Harvey copies a long passage from the 'Additions, to Winchesters Letters' in which Foxe explains how the gentle reader should understand these letters as a portrait of Gardiner's arrogance 'much lyke to y[e] person, or rather he himsele, describid in y[e] Latin Comedy, Miles Thraso Gloriosus: having nothing in his mowth, but Emperours, Kings, Counselours, Protec-tours, advisements, direction . . . ' (Harvey's *Firste fruites*, sig. [Uu]r^v; Foxe, *op. cit.*, sig. XX3^{r-v}).

There was about y[e] same tyme, in y[e] howsehowld of Cardinall Woolsey; Thomas More, & Stephen Gardiner, browght up together with Thomas Cromwell even from [their] youth: whose age as it was not greatly different, so was not [their] fortune very diverse: althowgh there dispositions, & studies were moste contrary. For albeit these three, were men in manner of lyke lerning, & understanding; and becam of lyke æstimation in y[e] Commo[n]wealth; & that in More, & Winchester there was peradventure more lerning: yet notwithstanding there was A more heavenly light of mynde, and more prompt & redde judgment; equall eloquence, & as is supposed, more redde in this man.⁴⁶

We can see here exactly how Reformation ideology politicised Erasmian *amicitia*. Foxe's contrast between the mere learning of Gardiner and More, and the 'heavenly light of mynde', the 'divine Methode or pollicy of reason' of Cromwell, brought up on the same studies in the same household, is the narrative of official reformed pedagogy and is equivalent to the story told by the Privy Councillors against Gardiner. It is very different from the more pragmatic comparative story to be found earlier in Harvey's annotations. The difference is between a consciously maintained Protestant educational ideal, embodied in Cromwell and promised in Robert Sackville (in Ascham's *The Scholemaster* of 1570), and a socio-political context in which humanistic skills are recognised to be of pragmatic use to those in positions of political power.

To this evidence concerning the uses of the *Firste frutes* can be added a slender document that gives us some hints in relation to the reception of *Florios second frutes*.⁴⁷ In the possession of Peter Beal of Sotheby's is a trimmed manuscript consisting of a single vellum skin. From the folds one can deduce that the manuscript was normally folded in half and then at least twice more, so as to become pocket-size. There are particularly heavy vertical fold marks. A heading, parallel to one of the shorter edges, reads: 'Wise politique Italian admonitions & Counsells'. Beneath are three columns of numbered proverbs and groups of proverbs in English, sixty in all, followed after a short gap by two further unnumbered comments. The numbered proverbs can all

be traced to chapter six of the *Second frutes*, and the two unnumbered comments to chapter nine.*

The sixth chapter concerns 'familiar and cerimonious complementes, among sixe gentlemen'. It is a dialogue which represents the carefully modelled approach of Peeter to his elder and social superior Stephan. He thanks him for prior courtesies, offers his service, and requests that he might be furnished with the knowledge which will make a social success of his travel abroad; that is, that he may return 'with some credit, and not doo as many of our countrey men do who goe out maisters and retorne clearks'. In doing so, he is careful to confirm Stephan's reputation as 'very skilfull, experienced, and wise'. Stephan thanks Peeter for his gratitude, negotiates leave to address him like a son, and unfolds a *copia* of 'civill precepts' which he hopes may redound to 'your benefit, to your profite, and to your commoditie' (sig. N2^r). It is these admonitions and counsels that are extracted, and in some cases adapted, in the Beal MS. They begin with an exhortation to love God only, but are in general practical rather than moral, advising discretion, secrecy, and restraint.[†] They are summed up well in the

*Fully unfolded the leaf measures 270mm x 360mm. Folded in half three times it measures 87mm x 50mm and would thus fit in a pocket. Peter Beal of Sotheby's, who very kindly invited me to examine his manuscript, informs me that before he bought it from Bernard Quaritch in 1979 it was offered in Quaritch's sale catalogue No. 938 (1974), item 35; then at Sotheby's, 29 October 1975, lot 148 (presumably unsold). Arthur Freeman of Bernard Quaritch informs me that it was in his possession in the early 1970s, having been purchased before 1972 at a cost of £110. He has no information regarding its provenance. On the basis of the care evident in the script, Peter Beal suggests that it may have been the work of a professional scrivener. The two comments tacked on at random at the end are perhaps the main difficulty in accepting this. The manuscript is listed in *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (1450-1625), ed. Peter Beal *et al.* (Mansell, London, 1980), p. 88, FloJ3.

[†]The proverbs and groups of proverbs numbered 1-7 on the Beal MS are selected and adapted from the conversation between Stephan and Peeter found on sig. N3^r, N4^r (they are found in the printed text in the order 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 5, 7). These proverbs and apophthegms are taken out of their conversational context and generalised by a process similar to that evident in the

second of the two comments taken from chapter nine, a dialogue offering commonplaces on the court and courtiers: '*Sustine & Abstine* is the Courtiers *Recipe*' (adapted from sig. V2^r: '*Abstine*, should be . . .'). The Beal MS is itself, one might say, a short recipe for social success.*

IV.

Firste frutes and *Second frutes*: The Rhetoric of Protestant Humanism

With regard to the contents of these Italian–English textbooks, it must immediately be recognised that they are more than just grammar and conversation manuals. They are also guides to the art of the humanist courtier. The *Firste frutes* offers a collection of commonplaces on a wide variety of topics and is geared towards intellectual success. It emerges from a university context. The *Second frutes* has far more of the 'courtesy' manual about it.[†] The dialogues offer 'dramatic' scenes that must owe something to *cinquecento* Italian comedy.⁴⁸ Here we have

notes from Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part I* found in British Library, Additional MS 64078—on which, see Hilton Kelliher, 'Contemporary Manuscript Extracts from Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part I*', in *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700*, ed. Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths, 1 (B. Blackwell, Oxford, 1989), pp. 144–81 (pp. 161–62). Numbers 8–60, with a few short omissions, transcribe the precepts given in rote fashion by Stephan starting at the top of sig. O1^r ('See you never speake of Princes . . .') and finishing at the bottom of sig. P1^r ('. . . Then with the Foxes ease assaile'). The most interesting of the omissions is the phrase 'And shun all partes of monke or frire' (sig. O2^r), since it perhaps indicates a lack of sympathy with the religio-political orientation of Florio's dialogues.

*The first comment, concerning the role of foreign news and prognostications as 'confecc[i]ons to feede com[m]on people w[i]th', is taken from sig. T3^r.

[†]Spartaco Gamberini, in *Lo studio dell'Italiano in Inghilterra nel '500 e nel '600* (G. D'Anna, Florence, 1970), has compared Florio's parœmiological works with those of his predecessors and has been able to show that the passage from the first dialogues to the manuscript collection (British Library, Additional MS 15124) to the printed *Giardino* is achieved not by '*un processo di successive accumulazioni, ma attraverso un processo di esclusioni e scelte*

discourses not of fortune, learning, and virtue, as in the first manual, but familiar talk of repast, the nature of play, the art of fencing. In these scenes the traditional humanist goal of urbanity is manifested as the exercise of proverbial wit.⁴⁹ This wit serves as a mechanism of proper social differentiation: how to make a gracious request of a social superior, how to put down a servant. The proverbs are thus organised as a kind of 'parœmeological struggle' or 'servant and master dialectic' that has something in common with the conversational dynamic developed with much greater sophistication in certain scenes in Shakespearean comedy.⁵⁰

But the proto-dialogues and 'reasonings' of the first manual and the competitions of wit in the second also delineate the culture of an 'Italianate' English milieu. In the contrasts between them, published twelve years apart, can be seen historical changes in the ideological orientation and topical reference points of that milieu. The *Firste frutes* reflects and disseminates the evangelical, forward Protestantism

estremamente dinamiche, che indicano come il Florio, non solo mirasse a dare i fiori della lingua italiana, ma anche i migliori fiori della lingua italiana' (p. 126). As an ornament to complement the 'somma gratia' and the 'rara cortesia' of Dyer, Florio offers the proverbial pith of 'la nobil lingua Italiana'. A poem to the reader makes it clear that these proverbs are intended for deployment in civil conversation (fol. 11^r). When the collection is printed with accompanying dialogues in 1591, Florio places himself firmly in the parœmiological tradition of Erasmus and Heywood: 'the Greekes and Latines thanke *Erasmus* and our Englishmen make much of *Heywood*: for Proverbs are the pith, the proprieties, the proofes, the purities, the elegances, as the commonest so the commendablest phrases of a language. To use them is a grace, to understand them a good' (*Second frutes*, sig. *2^r). The twelve dialogues are conceived as settings for a certain number of these proverbs (nearly six hundred indicated by asterisks in the Italian text, together with many more not asterisked) intermingled with other literary allusions, as well, of course, as courtly versions of Vives-type linguistic exercises. They are concerned to demonstrate the graceful use of these commonplaces in conversational settings. Now that the principle of organisation is not the *lectio* but that of particular social occasions conceived in some detail, the unified moral and didactic intent of *Florio his firste frutes* is fragmented and scattered amongst the language of courtesy, dedication, and praise—according to Gamberini.

of the late 1570s and early 1580s. The conversations and reasonings are 'godly' in tone and content. One such conversation takes place in church while the interlocuters are waiting for a sermon (sig. M2^v). There is mention of the struggle between the 'Spaniardes' and the 'Flemings', and of the 'pressing' of soldiers to go into Holland against the Duke of Alva (sigs C2^v-3^r). There are attacks on the cynical pursuit of profit amongst the mercantile community, to the Italian branch of which the dialogues are partly addressed (sigs ** 2^v, D2^r).

In the first half of 'To speake of England', Protestant mercantilism is praised in the form of the 'liberty' afforded to those merchant strangers who attend the French, Flemish, or Italian strangers' churches, and to Sir Thomas Gresham's new Royal Exchange (sigs D3^v-4^r). In the second half, however, the ambition, pride, and slipperiness of the citizens is proverbially evoked. Elsewhere, there is praise for Rome's golden age of learning and virtue, and criticism of the lack of edification and the victory of ruralism over knighthood in modern times: 'our knightes rather wyll goe to the village to woorke, then goe to the Frontiers to fight' (sigs Q1^v-2^v, Cc1^r-2^r). An attack is made on the lack of spiritual government exercised by the ministry of the Church: 'these are the Bishops of our Popedome' (sigs X1^r-^v). The conversational part of the manual ends with a chapter that contains the *Pater noster* and the Creed (sigs Dd3^v-Ee1^v).*

*Many of the materials are, of course, adapted and translated, principally from Guevara, but also from unacknowledged sources. In Dewitt T. Starnes's article of 1965, 'John Florio Reconsidered' (*University of Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 7, pp. 407-22) it was finally established that the image of Florio as the *uomo universale* of English Renaissance scholarship was based on a misunderstanding of the process whereby his two dictionaries were compiled. Florio had not composed the works from his own reading but had relied heavily on the lexicographical labours of his predecessors, especially Thomas Thomas's Latin-English *Dictionarium* of 1587. Starnes's emphasis is corrective: 'Florio's contribution in the making of a great dictionary lies in his recognition of his most accomplished predecessors and in borrowing and adapting their work—not in his erudition' (p. 422). But in his laudable concern to show the difference between an *auctor* and a *compilator* Starnes is perhaps rather reductive in his descriptions of Florio's adaptive procedures. This is particularly clear in his treatment of the *Firste fruites*. Starnes shows

Frances Yates and Spartaco Gamberini have found that what the latter calls the 'impegno ideologico' of the first manual is missing in the *Second frutes*.⁵¹ This is to neglect the sense in which the manual reflects the historical mutation of the ideology of Protestant evangelism, not its demise. It might be said that the *Firste frutes* strikes the very same balance as another literary composition published in 1579, *The shepheardes calender*: a balance 'between two versions of nationalism, that which could be expressed in whole-hearted appreciation of Elizabeth I and that which admitted the anxieties of the Protestant activists grouped around Sidney, Leicester, and Walsingham'.⁵²

But by 1591 the deaths of these and other key Protestant patrons as well as the assaults of Whitgift had marginalised Presbyterianism, the policies of political Puritanism, and the ethos of the 'godly'. The manual reflects instead the revival in the humanistic culture of élite Protestantism, of 'arms' and 'letters' ('TAM MARTI QVAM MERCVRIO', sig. A3^v), nourished by the publications of Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser and beginning to gather around the figure of the young Earl of Essex. The dedicatory epistle celebrates the poetry of Spenser and his scholar-patron relationship with Leicester. Yates has shown that it also alludes to other publications, including Robert Greene's *Mourning garment* (1590), John Lyly's *Endimion* (1591), Anthony Munday's translation of *Amadis of Gaule* (1590?) and the Martin Marprelate pamphlets.⁵³ There are allusions she did not detect to Robert Hitchcock's translation of Sansovino, *The quintesence of wit* (1590), and, more tenuously, Samuel Daniel's translation of *The worthy tract of Paulus Jovius, contayning a discourse of rare inuentions, called imprese*

(pp. 416–17) how one chapter is filched from Claude Desainliens's *Frenche littelton* (1566). A close look at the process of adaptation reveals that Florio, in making the sequence more explicitly dialogic, places phrases in contraposition to those found in Desainliens. Proverbial phrases invoking ideal qualities are complemented by pithy sayings which express a failure to find these qualities at large in society. Where Desainliens ends his dialogue with an exchange concerning heraldry and arms, Florio adds a short critique of 'maisters' and 'patrons' who discourteously promise much and give little to their servants. Compare Claude Desainliens, *The Frenche littelton* (London, 1566), sig. E2^v–5^r, with *Firste frutes*, sig. I3^r–4^v.

(1585). The reference to 'active gallants' who court their mistresses 'with æglogues, songs, and sonnets, in pitifull verse or miserable prose' is surely an allusion to the 1591 *Astrophel and Stella* and/or the 1590 *Arcadia*, in which Florio may have played a part.* These allusions are important not least because Florio advertises his translation of Montaigne's *Essais* in similar terms in 1603 and thus invites its reception as part of the mutating culture of English Protestantism.

The allusions are also important because they help provide the context of the longest and most important of the dialogues. One quarter of the work, the final chapter, is devoted to a 'night watch, wherein proverbially and pleasantly discourse is held of love, and of women'. This should be read as a dialectic between the godly Pandolpho and the courtly Silvestro, and thus between two aspects of English Protestant culture. Pandolpho argues for 'good and godly love', characterises women as 'the errours of nature, the fall of man . . . the subject of all vices' and states that without them 'our conversation should not be far from God'. He will not let the courtier's language of Silvestro enter his 'Creede' and recites a popular, reforming 'Letany' which shares a line with the fictional Florio's litany in Vaughan's later work, *The golden fleece*.⁵⁴

Using material from Giordano Bruno's *Degli eroici furori*, Florio constructs Silvestro's defence against the taunting misogyny of Pandolpho around a distinction between 'beastly, vulgare and voluptuous love' and 'celestiall love'. The objects of this latter kind of love are 'these faultles Pandoras, these models of heauen, and Goddesses on earth', who are not real or 'common women' but rhetorically conceived and exemplary women, personifications such as those in Petrarch's *Trionfo della castità*, in which the figure of Chastity leads the band of virtues 'resplendent in their complete armour'.⁵⁵ The dominant figure in

*'Some like Alchimists distilling quintessences of wit, that melt golde to nothing, & yet would make golde of nothing' (sig. A2^r); 'no lesse than with the conceived apothegmes, or Impreses, which never fall within the reach of a barren or vulgar head' (sig. A4^v); sig. A2^r; Yates, *Florio*, pp. 204–06. In *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The New Arcadia)*, ed. Victor Skretkowicz (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987), the editor supports Yates's hypothesis that Florio assisted in the editing of the 1590 *Arcadia*, and adduces an inscription which identifies Matthew Gwinne as one of the publishers (pp. lviii–lix).

this iconographical category of the chaste and armed woman, beautiful but *virilis animi*, masculine of soul, is Minerva, or Pallas Athene, who makes a double appearance in this dialogue on love: first as 'the mistres, the princes, nay the foundres of good artes', and second as one of the goddesses 'Venerian' Paris should have chosen.⁵⁶

The iconography of Minerva invites wider consideration of the political and career context of the cult of the manly and learned woman.⁵⁷ For the rise of the Countess of Bedford,* dedicatee of the *Worlde of wordes* and the *Essayes*, to the privy chamber of Queen Anne and to prominence as patroness and icon of moderate, court Puritanism was conducted in exactly such heroic terms.⁵⁸ In his *Vision of the*

*See Barbara K. Lewalski, 'Lucy, Countess of Bedford: Images of a Jacobean Courtier and Patroness', in *Politics of Discourse: the Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1987), pp. 52–77—especially on Lucy's appearance in the 1609 Jonson–Jones *Masque of Queenes* as the martial Queen of the Amazons Penthesilea, wearing a plumed classical helmet and sword (pp. 58–59) and on Donne's celebration of her learning and virtue (pp. 68–69). See also Jonson's epigram 76 ('On Lucie Countess of Bedford'—'Onely a learned, and a manly soule / I purposed her') in *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford *et al.*, 11 vols, 8 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1925–52), p. 52. Donne, of course, in his verse epistles, projected an image of the Countess as a witty logician, or rather counter-logician, embodying both beauty and virtue, a virtue that preserves the Jacobean court and ransoms her own sex (Lewalski, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–69). Most significant of all, perhaps, is the rhetoric of praise found in the literature produced by Samuel Daniel, Florio's brother-in-law and life-long associate, under the ægis of the Countess. In his 1603 verse epistle to her Daniel asserts that the only means for her to unlock the prison of her sex is through learning and stoic fortitude. He figures Lucy's virtue clothed with nobility as a woman sat in court, clad with authority, mounted high in open sight, in an eminent and spacious dwelling. It is, says Daniel, her 'faire course of knowledge' which frees her from her weakness and sets her above the 'rowling world'; Samuel Daniel, *A panegyrike congratulatory deliuered to the Kings most excellent maiesty at Burleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire . . . Also certaine epistles. With a defence of ryme heeretofore written, and now published by the author* (London, 1603), sig. E3^v–4^v; Samuel Daniel, *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 5 vols, first published 1885–1896, 1 (Reissue: Russell and Russell, New York, 1963), pp. 209–10.

twelve goddesses (1604), commissioned by the Countess of Bedford for performance before and with the Queen, Samuel Daniel dramatises the Senecan commonplace of the *tres Gratiae* (*De Beneficiis* 1.iii. 2–4) as a heroic masque of the new British Empire. In the performance itself Queen Anne played ‘warlike’ Pallas Athene (the Greek Minerva), ‘in her helmet drest . . . In whom both wit and courage are exprest’, while the Countess of Bedford played ‘Vesta, with flames of zeale . . . clad in white puritie’, with a book and ‘th’ever burning lamp of pietie’.⁵⁹

Common to the various manifestations of the Renaissance learned woman is a restrictive tokenism that uses her not as the source of any general educational or political changes in the training and employment of women, but as an icon of cultivation and ‘manly’ virtue. Such literary iconography draws on the classical types of the independent Amazon or the learned Roman matron (Cornelia, mother and educator of the Gracchi). This celebration in terms of an abstract intellectual ideal often went alongside celebration in terms of a social ideal of chastity and obedience. Resistance to this alignment, as Pandolpho resists Silvestro, or extreme insistence on the piety of learning, might signify religio-political differences. A textbook on female education, translated in 1598 and intended as an aid in the learning of French and Italian, insists in severe Calvinist fashion that the latter of the two ideals should predominate: ‘for an example among a few notable and renowned women in learning, they [who argue for the intellectual ideal] induce Cornelia mother to Graches a citizen of Rome, who as she taught her children to be no lesse seditious & violent than learned and eloquent, so shee instructed her daughter (as some grave and learned Authors suspect) to kill her husband’.⁶⁰

The reputation of the numerically very confined circle of Reformation learned women (1520–1560), led by the Royal princesses (Lady Jane Grey and her sisters) and the daughters of Protector Somerset and Sir Anthony Cooke, reflected reformed ideals of pious learning, most obviously in the form of published translations.⁶¹ The publicised accomplishments and virtues of the subsequent generations of Elizabethan and Jacobean learned women certainly included piety but were in general less ‘classical’ and broadened into the area of courtly cultivation and the modern languages.⁶² They thus reflected the widened goals of the *studia humanitatis*, to which the women were in practice denied any

politically or professionally significant access. The accumulation of the Countess of Bedford's reputation for languages began very early indeed, with the dedication of Desainliens's *Campo di fior or else the flourie field of foure languages* in 1583.⁶³ She also appeared with Queen Anne, Lady Elisabeth Barkley (who had received a presentation copy of Florio's *Worlde of wordes* and the dedication of Erondelle's *French garden*), Lady Margaret Wotton (the wife of Sir Edward Wotton, who first commissioned the translation of Montaigne), and others on the list, included in the volume, of those who received Minsheu's *Guide into tongues* (1617).⁶⁴ That she was actively encouraged by male humanists to assume the reputation of the learned and pious patroness is indicated by Sir John Harington of Kelston's letter of 1600 to the Countess, which accompanied copies of the Countess of Pembroke's psalms and complimented Lucy's 'rare and admirable guifts of the mynde', gifts clothing 'Nobilitie with vertue'.⁶⁵

Thus, especially in the light of Florio's subsequent dedications to the Countess, other court ladies, and Queen Anne, it is reasonable to interpret Silvestro's defence of the heroic, learned woman against the 'godly' positions of Pandolpho as the forging of a new, more accommodating, less 'precise' rhetoric of godliness through which active Protestants could sublimate their anxieties about conformity and seek approval and employment in the establishment.* Judging from his attacks on just such a career Protestant, Gabriel Harvey, in *Have with you to Saffron-walden* (1596), Thomas Nashe might have seen it in this way. He there satirises the devices by which Harvey and his friends seek to make way at court and exposes the dedication of Harvey's *Pierce's supererogation* to an unknown gentlewoman as a thin cover for self-advertisement. This gentlewoman who has learned languages and read books, who 'stands upon masculine and not feminine

*See, in particular, the three altars within which the names of his female dedicatees and 'learned' pupils appear in the frontispiece to Michel de Montaigne, *The essayes or morall, politike and millitarie discourses*, tr. J. Florio (London, 1603). In the dedication to Florio's *Queen Anna's new world of words* (1611), the Queen is addressed by her secretary of at least seven years standing as 'absolute supreme Minerva'.

termes', and whose literary productions Harvey would 'dispose' is 'a meere copy of his countenance'. Nashe, from an ideologically unsympathetic viewpoint, is anatomising the same Protestant humanist rhetoric that is offered to the market in Florio's *Second frutes*.⁶⁶

V.

Florio's Diplomatic Career

Between the relatively well-documented period of Florio's residence at the French embassy in 1583–1585 and the death of Queen Elizabeth, which led a year later (according to a document of 1619) to his appointment as groom of the privy chamber to Queen Anne, Frances Yates knew of only three unprinted sources relating to Florio's professional and political activities. One is the document, first cited by C. C. Stopes, which identifies Florio as one of the Earl of Southampton's servants in October 1594. There are then two letters of 1600: the first from Florio to Sir Robert Cotton, in which he asks for the remittance of tuition fees and emphasises the dependence of his livelihood on such payments; the second from one 'Nicolo Molina/o', who, according to Yates's interpretation, is sending on 'reposti' of some kind from Secretary (Robert) Cecil, to be dealt with by Florio in some unspecified way. The rest of her study for this period involves ingenious but uncorroborated hypotheses based on the information offered by Florio in his dedications.⁶⁷

Research for this piece has uncovered no further letters of Florio's, but there are many letters addressed to him, kept in the Public Record Office, which Yates did not include in her study. For the period isolated above, there is only one such letter, of which brief mention can be made here. The letter is addressed 'To the worshipfull my verie Good friend m[r] john Florio in Cork', signed by 'Allex Teregli' at London on 26 May 1587.⁶⁸ For our purposes, the significance of this letter, much of which is obscure, is that it offers a glimpse of Florio's activities and associations soon after his period of residence at the French embassy.

The exact circumstances of his presence in Cork are, for the moment, not recoverable. From a general perspective it is compatible with his emergence from the Oxford milieu of scientifically oriented literati and his association with Hakluyt, for English colonial

exploitation of Ireland was reaching its height in the 1580s.⁶⁹ Teregli writes: *'prego Il s[r] T]illo che vi prosperi ogni vostra atione'*. This implies that Florio was there in the service of an Italian gentleman, but no other evidence is currently available. Teregli also implies that Florio has arranged hospitality in England on his (Teregli's) behalf with one William Barnes, who may be a relation of the Emmanuel Barnes to whom Florio was servitor at Oxford, and with 's[r] Booll' and 's[r] woods'. Teregli may have been a merchant or financier of some sort, for he mentions that he has lent money, now overdue for repayment, to 'Cavaliero Dimock', whose house he intends to visit in three or four weeks before continuing his tour around the country (fol. 163^r). This must be a reference to the Sir Edward Dymoke who spoke in progressive vein, as we shall see, during the parliamentary debate on the bill against alien retailers and whose estate was listed as substantial enough to support a peerage in 1588, for there was no other knight of that name in England.⁷⁰

This association between Florio and Dymoke (at whose house, implies Teregli, *'volontiere vi troveresti'*) is compatible with what is already known of Florio's connections. Dymoke's first wife was Catherine Harington, sister of Sir John Harington (eventually the first Lord Harington, of Exton), the Countess of Bedford's father. Documents adduced by Mark Eccles and Pierre Spriet have made it almost certain that Florio's lifelong associate Samuel Daniel was in the service of Dymoke between 1588 and 1592 and that they visited Guarini in Padua in 1591–1592. In the same letter Teregli says that in most cases *'ho fatto tutte Levostre raComandation[i]'*. Some, however, were absent, including 's[r] Castelvetro' (fol. 163^v). This establishes a firmer link than has previously existed between Florio and Giacomo Castelvetro, the reformed Modenese exile whose career in language-teaching, publishing, and diplomacy ran interestingly parallel to Florio's, though involving him in peregrination to a far greater degree.⁷¹

Castelvetro was, like Florio, involved in the production of colonial propaganda, including an edition of Giulio Cesare Stella's *Columbeid* dedicated to Walter Raleigh in 1585, most probably as part of the publicity campaign behind the latter's project for a Virginian colony. Italian works were printed at his expense by John Wolfe, and thanks to R. J. Roberts we now know from an entry in the relevant London Port

Book that in April and May 1589, just two years after Teregli's letter, Castelvetro shipped in between 2,500 and 4,000 books from the Spring Fair at Frankfurt, most likely to be sold via Wolfe. From 1592 he was in Edinburgh, where he taught Italian to James VI and Florio's future employer, Queen Anne of Denmark, for several years. In Venice between 1602 and 1611 (and connected with the English representatives there), Castelvetro was suspected by the Inquisition of circulating Protestant literature, eventually imprisoned and then released through the agency of Dudley Carleton. In 1611–1612 he wrote three letters (not extant) to Florio in London. From 1613 he was teaching Italian in Cambridge, moving on to Oxford shortly afterwards. In 1614 he dedicated his famous treatise on vegetables to the Countess of Bedford. Considered overall Teregli's letter implies that in 1587 Florio was living and working in the interface between the Italian community in London, his Oxford literary contacts, such as Daniel, and members of the 'Italianate', progressive gentry, such as Dymoke.*

For the period from 1603 until Queen Anne's death and the end of Florio's court service in 1619, Yates offers a certain amount of archival material relating to payments and gifts and to attendance on official occasions, but she documents in detail only one diplomatic relationship. She shows that Florio had contact with Ottaviano Lotti, London representative of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who appears to have lobbied through Florio and Mistress Drummond, a lady-in-waiting, for audiences with the Queen.⁷²

Yates interprets this scant documentation in the light of the extravagant rhetoric of Florio's dedications to figures such as the Earl of

*Castelvetro's career has been well covered, due to the fact that many of his MSS are extant. His papers include copies of the relations of Venetian ambassadors apparently collected for their usefulness in his diplomatic career and annotated from an anti-Papal perspective. See Eleanor Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro: Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 6 (1942–43), pp. 119–48 (pp. 121–32); K. T. Butler, 'Giacomo Castelvetro, 1546–1616', *Italian Studies*, 5 (1950), pp. 1–42 (pp. 9–14, 23–38); R. J. Roberts, 'New Light on the Career of Giacomo Castelvetro', *Bodleian Library Record*, 13 (1990), pp. 365–69; Rossi, 'Note', pp. 78–82; Rossi, *Ricerche*, pp. 158–67.

Southampton, the Earl of Rutland, and the wife and mother-in-law of the Earl of Bedford (all three involved in the Essex rebellion), and in the light of his publicised relationship with the English reformed tradition. The presumption that arises from this and from Yates's desire to emphasise the role of Renaissance culture in the shaping and conduct of politics (rather than vice versa) is that Florio, as a figure important in literary history, must have been a figure of some stature, independence, and 'influence' in social and political terms. She allows us to imagine close relationships and significant encounters between Florio and various great patrons, writers, and statesmen, whereas the letter cited above begins to suggest that these encounters were only 'highlights' in a career involving a large number of lower-level contacts. This, combined with her application of a historical paradigm of faction and espionage, leads her to interpret the possibility of Florio's receiving letters from Elizabeth's Secretary (Robert Cecil) in 1600 either as 'rather queer',* given his public association with the Essex party, *or* as evidence that he fostered a secret allegiance to the Cecils and acted as a secret agent on their behalf.⁷³

In adducing archival material not included in Yates's work my intention is not to propose a radical revision of this picture by demoting Florio to the level of an unprincipled courtly retainer, but to consider the relationship between his diplomatic activities and his publicised ideological commitments against the background of the reformed model of the pragmatic humanist discussed in the first half of this article.

All the manuscript, as opposed to printed evidence, indicates that Florio was a relatively minor functionary who sought to make himself serviceable to a wide variety of employers and contacts. In the course of such services he hoped to glean individual or (in the case of his service to Queen Anne) annual payments. At the French embassy these services ranged from private tuition (the ambassador's daughter), to diplomatic translation and general administration, including attorney and messenger work. Florio was entrusted with the representation of interests and conveyance of communications by Michel de Castelnau. He was sent to Secretary Francis Walsingham to solicit assistance in

*The letter is in any case misdated (see following footnote on p. 70).

discharging a 'sommelier' from an action brought against him and to Raleigh with a variety of instructions.⁷⁴

This is continuous with the kind of diplomatic functions performed by Florio later in his career at the court of Queen Anne. Letters addressed to Florio in the period 1603–1614* (not consulted by Yates) and kept in the Public Record Office seem to confirm that he, along with Mistress Drummond, acted as an intermediary figure between the Queen and Italian ambassadors and their secretaries. The most important find is that even before his official appointment to Queen Anne's privy chamber Florio—under the ægis of Lord Buckhurst—was unofficially involved in the re-opening of diplomatic relations with Venice.

Lord Buckhurst had a high profile in international diplomacy. After an abortive attempt with Burghley in 1598 he was nominated to the commission which finally signed a peace treaty with Spain in 1604. He was a noted entertainer of foreign ambassadors.⁷⁵ It is, then, no surprise to find that at the beginning of September 1603 he was entertaining the Venetian secretary Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli at his residence in Horsley in Surrey and that one of his diplomatic aides in this task was John Florio. After a severance in Anglo-Venetian diplomatic relations lasting forty-six years secretary Scaramelli arrived in London on 28 January/7 February 1603 in order to protest at the pirating of Venetian ships by English privateers. Due to the timing of his visit, Scaramelli's became a mission of major diplomatic importance.⁷⁶

The documentation supporting this statement consists, firstly, of three letters addressed to Florio by Scaramelli during the course of 1603. The first letter is written to Florio in London on 5 April, within two to three weeks of the Queen's death, and begins: '*rendo*

*The normal problems associated with the dating of letters falling between 1 January and 24 March are exacerbated in the case of letters written by continentals in England: are they using the Old Style Julian Calendar, or the New Style Gregorian Calendar, adopted by Catholic countries in 1584 and ten days ahead of o.s.? See *Spaniard*, ed. Ungerer, 1, pp. xiv–xv. Where possible, both n.s. and o.s. dates are given; otherwise the dates correspond to what is written in the letter itself.

gratie affettuose alla cortesia de V.S. This means that Florio had already made contact with Scaramelli in some capacity or other by that date. The second letter is addressed to Florio 'A Osselle' from 'Somberi' (Sunbury) on 10 September n.s., 31 August o.s. In the elaborate language of Italianate courtesy, Scaramelli thanks Florio for his '*lettera piena delle attestazioni di quelle cose che summam[en]te apprezzo*' and offers him continued service. The third letter is addressed from Sunbury to Florio 'in Horseley', the Anglicised spelling of 'Osselle', on 15 September n.s., 5 September o.s. In this letter Scaramelli says he knows '*la forza della virtù nascente in quelle nobillesse s[ignore]*'* and enjoys '*tanto de i loro favori*'. He expresses '*gratitudine*' for '*le operationi loro*' and implores Florio: '*la prego che tenga viva la mià servitù presso la mià sempre amata, et sempre riverita s[anta] Maria*'.⁷⁷

In Florio's dedications to his translation of Montaigne's *Essayes*, composed between December 1602 and March 1603, the translator refers to Edward Wotton as his 'by me not-to-be denied benefactor' and to the 'favours' he has received from Lord Buckhurst. He also refers to the fact that he did no 'small parte' of the translation in the latter's house under the 'regiment' of his daughter, Mary Neville, *née* Sackville, who may be the '*santa Maria*' referred to in Scaramelli's letter. Scaramelli wrote to the Doge and Senate from London on 13 February 1603 reporting that he had secretly visited the Lord Treasurer, Buckhurst, and the Lord Keeper/Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton, since they were the Privy Councillors who were to deal with his business in England. On 19 February he reported that the Privy Councillor Edward Wotton had been appointed one of the commissioners to confer with him and report to the Queen.⁷⁸

On 7 April, Scaramelli reported that he had been received by the Queen and Privy Council, including Buckhurst and Egerton, at Richmond. In a subsequent despatch, two weeks later, he reveals that private commercial considerations were a part of Buckhurst's interest in Anglo-Venetian relations. He was a relation of the owner of the vessel, the *Royal Merchant*, which Scaramelli had hired to take the goods he

*The abbreviation expanded here as s[ignore] reads 'ss^{re}'. The word 'loro' is inserted above the line of the script.

had recovered back to Venice. Buckhurst and two of his sons had also asked Scaramelli to use his influence with the Senate to gain the remittance of a fine inflicted on one Captain George King for landing raisins at Zante the previous year. In a despatch of 10 July, Scaramelli mentions Buckhurst again, this time in connection with a conversation in which the treasurer spoke of the deceitfulness of the French in diplomacy.⁷⁹

Most important of all, for our purposes, is Scaramelli's despatch of 8/18 September 1603, in which he reports that he has had a conversation with Buckhurst at Sunbury.⁸⁰ This is contemporaneous with the two communications the secretary sent to Florio at Horsley and enables us to deduce that the Italian must have played a part in the reception of Scaramelli at Buckhurst's Horsley residence.*

The texts of Florio's dedications to the *Essayes* are full of justifications of the value of modern language-learning and praise for the households of his pupils, patrons, and patronesses as places where learned strangers are entertained. We now have a definite answer as to what this might have meant in practice. Florio was involved, as early as the first months of 1603, in the exchange of 'courtesy' which accompanied the process whereby full diplomatic relations between England and Venice were re-opened, an event marked by the arrival of the first official ambassador, Nicolò Molin, in December 1603. According to the rest of the new documentation to be adduced here, Florio's subsequent career as secretary to Queen Anne centered around the conduct of those relations.

*There are various letters calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission which indicate that Buckhurst regularly resided at Horsley in this period. See the *Calendar of the MSS of the Marquis of Salisbury*, 24 vols (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London, 1883–1976), 15, p. 314 (8 December 1603); 17, pp. 338 (24 July 1605), 413 (4 September 1605); *Reports on MSS in Various Collections*, 8 vols (Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London, 1901–1913), 8, p. 2 (29 September 1603). The only plausible alternative to the suggestion that he had a residence there is that he was writing from the 'specially built banqueting house' that had been built for the express purpose of entertaining guests of the Queen at Lord Admiral Clinton's place in West Horsley (Chambers, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 157). Modern East and West Horsley are between Dorking and Guildford, approximately fifteen miles from Sunbury, Middlesex.

Many of the communications are routine: Girolamo Girardo, the secretary of the first Venetian ambassador of James's reign, Nicolò Molin (1603–1606), writes to Florio from London on 2 June 1605, informing him that the ambassador became occupied with some business while preparing for the hunt and is therefore forced to change his plans;* the second ambassador, Georgio Giustinian (1606–1608), writes to Florio on 13 July 1607, asking him to thank the Queen for the notice of her departure for London and entrusting Florio with the expression both of his '*infinita devotione verso di lei*' and of his gratitude to Mistress Drummond for the audience she arranged on his behalf;† a note of the same month from 'P[au]lo Vico' at 'Bexli' asks if the Queen is minded to give an audience to the same ambassador;⁸¹ on 24 December 1608 the third Venetian ambassador Marc'Antonio Correr (or 'Corraro'; 1608–1611) writes to

*PRO SP 99/2, fol. 299^r; *Relazioni*, I, p. xix. In writing to Florio from London on 17 August 1605, Molin says that he has received the letters sent to him by Florio from Scotland '*p[er] nome della sig[nora] Drumon*' and states that this week letters have not arrived from Italy. He hopes to see Florio at 'Oxford' in eight days' time. This is related to the letter from 'Nicolo Molina' to Florio transcribed by Francis Yates, ascribed by her to Nicolò Molin and dated, though not with complete certainty, to 10 August 1600. This letter, which is addressed to Florio using an identical formula to that on the 1605 letter ('*Al molto mag[nifico] Sig[nore] il Sig[nore] Giovanni Florio*'), declares that Molin sent to Florio the previous week '*li reposti si come facio al presente per la posta poi inviata in scotia conforme all'ordine lasciatomi dal Sig[nore] Secretario della M[ajestà] dalla Regina*'. When the letters are put side-by-side, it is clear that both are from Molin and that the date transcribed by Yates as 1600 is in fact '160[]', with the last number faded and illegible. It seems highly probable from the content of the letters that they were written within a week of each other in 1605 (PRO SP 99/2, fol. 300; PRO SP 12/275, fol. 73; Yates, *Florio*, pp. 216–17).

†PRO SP 85/2, fols 118–19; *Relazioni*, I, p. xix. The letter is incorrectly dated '1602' in the PRO's descriptive list. The signature is readable as 'Giazz^r' and on this basis is ascribed to 'Giorgio Giazzeri' in the same list, but comparison with the signature of PRO SP 99/5, fol. 388 makes it clear that the reading is 'Giustⁿ' and that the letter must therefore be ascribed to Giustinian.

thank Florio for an invitation and to declare himself impressed at the benignity of the Queen towards the representative of the Venetian Republic;* Correr's secretary, Cristoforo Suriano, writes from Venice on the 17 September 1611, thanking Florio for the favour he showed during Suriano's stay in England and offering his continued service.⁸²

Some of these letters also enable us to establish a closer connection between Florio's reputation for grammatical (including lexicographical) and rhetorical work and his position as a diplomatic intermediary. Florio's powers of rhetorical amplification are invoked by Ambassador Giustinian when he requests that the Italian secretary communicate his devotion to Queen Anne '*rappresentandogliela in quella piu ampia, et efficace maniera*'. He hopes that despite his own reverential brevity the Queen may rest assured from Florio's amplification that he, Giustinian, is eternally grateful for the favour he has received (a letter from Florio accompanied by a gift from the Queen).[†]

An ingeniously complimentary letter of 25 November 1604 makes direct reference to Florio's *World of wordes*. 'Ventura Cavalli' writes from Venice, enclosing a 'Canzone' (not extant) which he hopes Florio will show to the Queen and which is written in praise of her virtues. This hope is based on his knowledge of Florio's learning ('*ch'esser non puo scortese un che sia dotto*') and kindness. This knowledge derives entirely from Cavalli's master, the Venetian ambassador (Nicolò Molin). One of the favours that the latter has done him '*e stato il farmi veder*

*PRO SP 99/5, fol. 390. Another letter of Correr's, signed 28 March 1609, informs Florio and 'Gio: Maria' that the horses cannot be used for another two or three days for the planned trip to visit an unspecified Countess (PRO SP 99/2, fol. 298). The PRO list dates this letter '1605' but from the script it could equally be '1609'. Since Correr first arrived in London in October 1608, the latter reading must be correct (*Relazioni*, 1, pp. xix–xx).

[†]PRO SP 99/5, fol. 388. The letter is signed from London, on 5 August 1608. Giustinian writes to Florio from Venice in October 1609 alluding to a list of items (such as mirrors) that Florio has requested he should send (PRO SP 99/5, fols 330–31). He left England and his post as ambassador on 23 November 1608 (*Relazioni*, 1, p. xix).

il vocabulario di V.S. tanto ricco, e copioso di voci, e d'osservationi varie, e tutte consonanti co' l'intentione de'gl'Auttori', which Cavalli declares superior to any vocabulary printed in Italy.*

We thus know that Molin owned a copy of Florio's dictionary in 1604 and that its fidelity and copiousness were an important part of the Italian secretary's reputation as a discreet diplomatic servant. This is confirmed by a letter of 2 December 1611 from the 'Conte di Cartignano', which consists of a few lines of rhyming prose addressed to Florio complimenting *'questo suo di ben parlar raccolto tesoro'*.† It is also confirmed by the fact that at least three presentation copies of the dictionaries are known to exist, containing inscriptions to Lady Elizabeth Barkley (mentioned previously); to Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham; and to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper.⁸³ The diplomatic correspondence indicating that Florio played a persistent role in Anglo-Venetian diplomatic relations from 1603 provides a pragmatic, political context for his grammatical works, which themselves show a persistent engagement with Lombardo-Venetian culture.‡

*PRO SP 99/18, fol. 52. In the PRO descriptive list the Cavalli letter is dated '1614', but the year in Roman numerals given in the letter itself is 'M. D. C. IV'.

†PRO SP 85/3, fol. 182. The Conte's remark about Florio's *'raccolto'* might refer to any of his textbooks but the date of the letter suggests that he is referring to the new edition of the dictionary (1611).

‡The literature dealing with 'Italians' and the 'Italianate' in England has on the whole neglected the importance of the differences in the politico-cultural baggage carried by exiles and travellers from the various city-states, especially clear in the case of Genoans, Florentines, and Venetians. Rossi's article is one of the few written with this fully in mind (see, for example, 'Note sugli Italiani', pp. 94–95, n. 65). In terms of the activities of intellectuals and pedagogues, it might be said that Petruccio Ubaldini is the chief interpreter of the Tuscan tradition in England. John Florio, on the other hand, according to the evidence of his language manuals and his Italian-English dictionary, was most interested in the popularisation of Lombardo-Venetian culture. This is evident in the use made of his work by Ben Jonson. See Rossi, 'Note', pp. 72–78; Mario Praz, *The Flaming Heart* (Doubleday, New York, 1958), pp. 176–85.

The documentary evidence presented in this section has perhaps begun to make Florio look very much like an unprincipled courtly retainer, a diplomatic servant with a reputation for the faithful amplification of any 'brief' or suit with which he was entrusted. Such a figure was lampooned in the language manuals of his rivals: an 'Italian Harlekin' who 'can hold his peace and keepe his owne counsell' appears in John Eliot's *Ortho-epia gallica*; one of the dialogues in Benvenuto Italiano's *Il passaggiere* (1612) features an Italian pedant who '*parla per punti de ditti, ed ogni sua parolla canoniza con sentenze, et auttentica con gravi auttore, et per apparir più grave, alla sua materna meschia, e spesso parolle latine aggiogne*'—who is, in short, a '*gazofilatiò d'ogni scienza*'.⁸⁴

One letter received by Florio tells us that if he was politically committed to court Puritanism then he certainly did, like his fictional counterpart in Vaughan's *The golden fleece*, 'hold his peace and keepe his owne counsell'. On 8 March 1614 a Roman Catholic priest, 'D. Pietro Aderse', wrote to apologise to Florio for the fact that when '*il v[ost]ro Arcivesc[o] di Cant. mi discaviò da Inglitt[err]a come sacerdote Rom[an]o Io no' hebbi ne tempo ne potere visitare VS*'. He goes on to plead the injustice of his expulsion, saying that he has done nothing in England '*indigna della mia Relig[ione]*' and, he says, '*non doveo ascondere il mio talento, e mia professione sacerdotale*': all of which implies that he has been accused of subversive activities. He then describes how he prays for the Queen at mass, and affirms: '*sono O sig[nor]e Florio di gran valore le messe*'. Thus expelled, he nevertheless promises to continue correspondence with Florio when he reaches Rome. In the meantime he promises a longer letter from France, where he says he should be in eight or ten days' time. He also reports that a '*gentilhomo Ital[ian]o molto virtuoso*' is arriving in England and asks that Florio introduce him to Mistress Drummond so that he might gain an audience with the Queen.*

The '*Arcivesco di Cant.*' alluded to can be no other than George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury (1611–1633), who in expelling Aderse

*PRO SP 85/4, fol. 114. The place from which the letter is written is difficult to decipher but may be '[Bridwel]'.

was acting entirely in character. Abbot was an evangelical Calvinist and political Puritan more at ease with the idea of persecution than James, but supported by him as a valuable weapon in confronting the political dangers of popery. His policing of Catholic recusants may, in fact, have won him his promotion. He inherited from Bancroft an internal intelligence network which monitored foreign embassies and the presence of English participants at the masses celebrated there. He forged links with the ambassadors of Venice and the Protestant states and corresponded with English diplomats who shared his perception of confessional politics. In 1613 he discovered a Spanish nunnery in Highgate and expelled the prioress.⁸⁵

From Aderse's letter it is possible to conclude no more than that Florio was not perceived as an aggressively Protestant figure, that he was courted by Roman Catholics, and that he received and aided them on their arrival at court. This would have been expected of anyone in Florio's position in the privy chamber of James's Catholic consort, and he emerges once more as a discreet intermediary. All of this tends to fade the Italian secretary into Frank Whigham and Kenneth Burke's scenario of professional bureaucrats, courtiers, and gentlemanly serving-men competing for status and wealth via a relativised rhetoric of praise and blame, a world wherein the Reformation's bifurcation of Christianity is obscured and confessional politics are not worn on the sleeve. If such a model is applied, Florio might be identified as one of those who sought 'the lucrative role of intercessor, of translator, of priest to these secular mysteries' and who displayed in his published materials the 'penetrating talents of a cryptologist'.⁸⁶ Such an approach would find support in the declamatory and vituperative rhetoric of the epistle dedicatory 'To the Reader' in the *World of wordes*, as in the practice of definition in both dictionaries, which seeks to offer a range of synonyms constituting a formal progression of usage from formal to slang and from respectful to slanderous.⁸⁷

One further piece of evidence which might entangle Florio further in this world of unofficial bureaucracy concerns a special payment he was promised by King James. From correspondence in the State Papers it appears that in 1608–1609 James ordered that a forfeit of £500 due to the King be redirected to the pockets of his wife's Italian secretary. This is a quite staggering sum considering that Florio's annual

salary was £100, though we do not know whether it was in the event reduced, or even if it was paid at all.* The granting of forfeits may have been a common way of handling unofficial payments to courtiers, and in particular to grooms and ladies of the privy chamber. In 1585 a forfeit of £160 was made over to Lady Hunsdon, a lady of the privy chamber, as a reward for faithful service. In 1601 John Lyly petitioned to Robert Cecil, pleading for everything from offices to land, goods, 'fines or forfeitures'. G. K. Hunter comments that Lyly was probably aiming for the confiscated properties of the Essex conspirators.⁸⁸

Regardless of whether or not Florio received this or other payments, it is clear from his will (20 July 1625) that he died with no estate to speak of and a debt to his daughter and son-in-law. Three of his four extant letters concern his pension of £100 per annum (granted by the King in January 1620). Of this, it seems, he never received a penny. In the first of two supplicatory letters to Sir Lionel Cranfield (1621, 1623), Florio offers to confer his educational talents on Cranfield's daughters, and in the second he says that the pension would not only feed his family and keep him out of prison, but enable him to finish and publish his great work (a third edition of the dictionary). These appeals

*Sir Thomas Fitzwilliams and Lord Gormanston stood bound for that sum, the condition being the continued loyalty of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty. When O'Dogherty attacked Derry in 1608, the sum therefore became due. On 2 July 1609, Sir Arthur Chichester wrote to the King from Dublin Castle, mentioning at the end of his letter that he had agreed to take a part payment from Fitzwilliams and Gormanston, but that he did not think he had the authority to abate the total amount due. When they persisted in seeking to avoid the payment, he instructed the Court of Exchequer to proceed against them. At which point, he said, they made an offer of £200, which he refused. He then asked if the King might consider a sum of £250 appropriate. The parties themselves wrote to Robert Cecil in July 1609 requesting that the sum bestowed on Florio should be reduced to £200 (PRO SP Ireland 63/227, no. 93 and no. 93A). No further information as to what followed is available. I am very grateful to William Maley for providing me with transcriptions of the relevant documents. See also Arundell del Re, 'References to Florio in the Irish State Papers', *Review of English Studies*, 12 (1936), pp. 194–97, and F. W. Harris, 'The Rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty and its Legal Aftermath', *Irish Jurist*, 15 (1980), pp. 298–325.

once again make it clear that Florio's entrée into court circles was always private tutoring and that his personal reputation rested chiefly on the dictionary.⁸⁹

Florio's will, however, also enables us to shade the religious politics, if lightly, back into his biography in the period after 1604. For the principal provision in the will is the bequest of Florio's three hundred and forty bound Italian, French, and Spanish books; his unbound manuscript materials; and the 'Corvine' stone given by the Duke of Tuscany to Queen Anne, to William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke. He hopes his books will be housed at one of Pembroke's residences, that his dictionary and dialogues might be printed under the earl's ægis, and that the earl might take Florio's wife under his protection and secure for her the arrears of Florio's pension through his influence with the Lord Treasurer. One of the designated executors is Theophilus Field, a clergyman in the patronage of the earl.⁹⁰ Florio clearly felt that the earl was the patron likeliest to represent and pursue his suit with Cranfield.

Whatever his actions and involvements as a career diplomat, faced with the testamentary practicalities of cultural inheritance and transmission at the point of death, then, Florio saw the security of his estate resting with the promise of a relationship between 'scholarship' and the ideology of the Protestant state, the same promise that had protected his father during his brief stay in England in the 1550s. For this relationship is what is invoked by the bequest of Florio's library to Pembroke. It is also the context of two related publications which appeared in 1626, the year after Florio's death, under the ægis of the propagandist William Vaughan. One is a selective translation and adaptation, and the other a general imitation of two works by Traiano Boccalini, the *Pietra del paragone politico* and the *Ragguagli di Parnaso*. Florio's posthumous appearance in Vaughan's *The golden fleece* as one of the characters hunting Mariana the Jesuit is compatible with the politico-religious context of publicity which is our only testimony to the beginnings of Florio's life in England.⁹¹

Of the uses and fate of Florio's library and of his involvement in the publication of printed books in this period, little of substance can be said, though the circumstantial evidence is very suggestive. Evidence in the Italian court literature of Antimo Galli and Alessandro Gatti

printed at London indicates that Florio was perceived as a possible patron by obscure Italians seeking favour at court (as he was by Ventura Cavalli).⁹² Of particular importance here is the fact that Thomas Thorpe dedicated John Healey's translation of *Epictetus, his manuell and Cebes his table* (1610) to Florio with a mention that Florio secured protection for Healey's 'essay' as an apprentice. Unless another work is lost, this must refer to Healey's translation (1609) of a Protestant satire on Catholic abuses (*Mundus alter et idem*) by the episcopalian Calvinist, Joseph Hall, one of many translations dedicated in this period to the Earl of Pembroke. The second edition (1616) was dedicated directly to Pembroke. Thorpe tells us in dedicating Healey's translation of St Augustine's *The citie of God* (1610) that Healey has gone to Virginia.

The other direction in which these publications lead us is to the strong possibility of a connection between the bookseller Edward Blount and Florio. Blount, originally an apprentice to William Ponsonby, published the *Worlde of wordes*, the 1603 Montaigne, the 1613 Montaigne (along with William Barret), Samuel Daniel's *A panegyrike congratulatory delivered to the Kings most excellent maiesty at Burleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire*, two of Matthew Gwinne's neo-Latin plays, and the second edition of Healey's *Epictetus*.⁹³ Blount also published three translations of Italian works that appear on the lists of books used in the compilation of the two editions of Florio's dictionary and published with them in the prefatory material. These lists are the only guide we have to the possible contents of Florio's library (and, doubtless, to the volumes he might have wished to own), and they include Tommaso Garzoni's *L'hospitale de' pazzi incurabili* (Venetia, 1586), translated, possibly by Blount or Nashe, as *The hospitall of incurable fooles* (1600); Jeronimo Conestaggio, *Dell'unione del regno del Portogallo alla corona di Castiglia* (Genova, 1585), translated, possibly by Blount himself, as *The historie of the uniting of the kingdom of Portugall to the crowne of Castill* (1600) and dedicated to the Earl of Southampton; Lorenzo Ducci, *Arte aulica nella quale s'insegna il modo che deve tenere il Cortigiano per divenir possessore della gratia del suo Principe* (Ferrara, 1601), translated by Blount himself as *Ars aulica or the courtiers arte* (1607) and dedicated to William and Philip Herbert.⁹⁴

As is already suggested by the items selected by Blount and the patrons to which they were addressed, the lists offer a comprehensive,

politic, and courtly Italian version of the kind of modernised humanist curriculum with which we have been implicitly concerned throughout. The Tuscan 'classics'—Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio—are represented. But the list as a whole is heavily weighted towards late *quattrocento* and *cinquecento* works of dramatic comedy, poetry, and courtly literature⁹⁵ and includes many works in the areas of history and politics,⁹⁶ military strategy,⁹⁷ courtiers' arts, rhetoric and poetics.⁹⁸

The religious material, as one might expect on an Italian list, points as much to Catholic and Erasmian evangelism and the '*spirituali*' as to Protestant polemic. In the first list of 1598 this category is dominated by the evangelical literature of Pietro Aretino, including the *Sette salmi della penitenza di David* (1534).⁹⁹ Hitherto uncited confirmation that Florio owned some of the books on these booklists and that he actively encouraged their circulation and use comes in a note written to Florio in July 1623, two years before his death, by 'Franc[esco] Grimani'. The note implies that Grimani was steadily working his way through Florio's library, for he returns an unidentified book with the note and asks Florio to favour him by the same messenger '*dell' sette Salmi dell' Aretino, et delle Lacrime di S. Pietro del Tansillo*'. Luigi Tansillo's *Lacrime di S. Pietro* did not appear on the 1598 list but it was included on the 1611 list, along with a greatly inflated corpus of religious materials.¹⁰⁰

In the second list the range broadens very significantly to include at one end the Italian Bible of Giovanni Diodati, relation of Theodore (Florio's assistant on the translation of Montaigne) and leader of Genevan orthodoxy, and at the other end Francesco Panigarola's anti-Calvinist *Lettoni sopra i dogmi dette calvaniche*.^{*} Sergio Rossi is surely right to suggest that this characteristic of the second list reflects the broadening of England's ecclesiastical policy and international relations under James I. John Florio played a role in this process as early as

^{*}Rossi, *Ricerche*, pp. 143–44. The list also includes the *Prediche* of Panigarola, Catena's *Vita del Papa Pio V*, two works by Juan de Valdés, the *Retrattatione* of the Italian reformer Pier Paolo Vergerio, and one of the texts central to the pre-Marian English reception of Italian and Erasmian evangelism, the *Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Gesù Cristo*.

1603, as we have seen, while the letter from Aderse has already suggested that he perhaps played a discreet intermediary role in international confessional politics.

VI. Conclusion

Other voices than Henry Finch's were heard in the 1593 debates on the bill against alien retailers. Walter Raleigh finds no charity, honour, or profit in allowing liberties to the strangers and speaks against the bill. There is no charity because, according to Raleigh (if not to the historians), the Dutchmen in question come mainly from the United Provinces and thus do not have religion for a pretext; in fact, he states, they dislike England's version of reformed religion. There is no honour because no liberties were accorded to the English at Antwerp before it fell back to the Spanish, nor at Milan. There is no profit because

the nature of this Dutchman is to fly to no man but for his profit, and to none they will obey longe, Now under Spayne, now they will have monnfort [D'Ewes: *Mounfort*], now the prince of Oringe, but no governor longe. The Dutchman by his policy hath gott the trade of all the world into his hands, he is now entred into the trade of Scarborough fishing and the fishing at the newfound lande . . . They are the people that maynteine the King of Spayne in his greatnes. Were it not for them, he were never able to make out such navies by sea nor such armyes as he sends abroad. It coste her ma[jestie] 60000 £ a yeare the mayntenance of those contryes, and yet thus they arme her enemyes against her.*

*British Library, Cotton MSS, Titus F. II, fol. 73^{r-v}; D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, p. 509a. Scouloudi's edition of the returns indicates that the majority of the Dutch immigrants at least claimed to be from the Spanish Netherlands; see *op. cit.*, ed. Scouloudi, p. 71, n. 94.

Like that of the Counsel for the City, Raleigh's chief argument is a demonstration of the adverse effects of the foreigners on the solvency of the Crown. He takes a censorious view of expensive support for populist Dutch radicals, attributing to them a kind of Italianate slipperiness and mercenariness. Raleigh is, in fact, accurately identifying a trend in international politics and commerce dangerous to the trading and colonial interests of the English and crucial in the vicissitudes of English foreign policy in the years to follow. The reliance of the Spanish on Dutch goods and shipping, even for the supplies of her armies in the Netherlands, was an early sign of what became the Dutch trading empire of the seventeenth century. The speech as a whole seems to represent England as an international trading and colonial power which should conceive of itself as affronted by any signs of expansiveness or disrespect in other powers of whatever religion. Raleigh's speech aims to secularise the terms of the whole policy against Spain, and in the process to undermine the Protestant constructions of charity and honour that had in the recent past legitimated, whether 'sincerely' or not, expenditure and military intervention in France and in the Netherlands.¹⁰¹

Earlier speakers against the bill, positioning themselves somewhere between Finch and Raleigh, had conjured up more familiar images of international 'intercourse' conducted according to the model of European relations that the first Elizabethan generation of Protestant statesmen had known. This involved the monitoring of Spain's invasion prospects and the protection of English trade interests, especially those of the Merchant Adventurers and the cloth trade, via diplomatic relations conducted through broadly Protestant channels. The balance in the pursuit of these aims between pragmatic concern for the prosperity of the City of London as an international trade centre and active espousal of the cause of international Protestantism varied amongst the Queen and her courtiers.¹⁰²

One such speaker was Sir John Wolley, who struck a different note from Finch in opposing the bill. Wolley was in the Queen's service by 1563, succeeded Roger Ascham as her Latin secretary in 1568, and served Burghley's government faithfully for thirty years. In the debate he argued: 'Antwerpe, Venice and Padoa would never have bene so ritch or famous but by well entertayning strangers and geving

liberty unto them, and so gayned all the entercou[r]se in the world'. Sir Edward Dymoke, who in 1584 had brought in a petition from Lincolnshire 'touching the liberty of godly preachers', and who we saw borrowing money from and offering hospitality to Teregli, likewise spoke of the liberties accorded to strangers in Venice and of English merchants in the Low Countries in economic and legal terms. The references to Venice are particularly significant: they indicate a religio-political latitude increasingly found at the centre of the establishment towards the end of Elizabeth's reign and at the beginning of James's,* and we have seen John Florio participating in that trend. The political position on the bill shared by Finch, Wolley, and Dymoke thus clearly disguises differences of emphasis. Finch and Wolley in fact spoke on different sides in the debate over James Morrice's motion for the suppression of the *ex officio* oath in the same parliament.¹⁰³

Richard Marienstras has said of Shakespeare's Othello that as an outsider in Venice he is 'socially acceptable . . . only insofar as his function is necessary and his sword committed to a military and ideological struggle'. It can be seen from the 1593 debate that the liberty and charity afforded to the strangers by the ruling élite, on whom they depended for protection, did depend very much on the religio-political and military manœuvres of England in relation to Europe (with particular reference, clearly, to France, Spain, and the Netherlands). The debate as a whole shows the extent to which Finch's construction of charitable and honourable behaviour towards the strangers depends implicitly on a Protestant and 'forward' view of the religious polity of England and its relations with Europe which was increasingly difficult to work with as a practical policy in the period 1588–1593.¹⁰⁴ As Spain's interventions in the Netherlands—the latter no longer, as Raleigh asserts, a plausible religio-political ally for England—became more defensive than aggressive, the eyes of Europe turned to France, where a Protestant but politic king, Henri IV, was trying to hold

*Venice, though Catholic, was opposed to Spain, had accepted English political exiles in the Marian era, and was increasingly hostile to Rome by 1593 (Hasler, 1, p. 104; *Counter-Reformation*, ed. Wernham, p. 263). Antwerp fell to the Spanish in 1585.

together moderate Catholic and Huguenot opinion in the wake of the assassination of Henri III, before abjuring Protestantism entirely in 1593.¹⁰⁵

It was precisely during this period that the Earl of Essex, inheriting but transmuting the Protestant political tradition of Leicester and Walsingham, took up their role as protector of strangers and organiser of foreign intelligence from the continent. His effort was to build a network of intelligencers linking him up with southern, central, and eastern Europe, from the Spanish coast to Aquitaine to the Imperial court to Venice. This culminated in a quasi-official mission for the Queen at Venice in 1595 (precursor to the return mission of Scaramelli's that led to the reopening of full diplomatic relations in 1603), followed by one at Florence in 1596. A central premise of this effort was the role that 'toleration' of Catholicism played in access to 'the cultural and political life of all but the Spanish-dominated parts of the Continent'.¹⁰⁶

This specific political initiative—which remained anti-Spanish—should be placed against the broader background that is emerging from economic historians' work on the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the English belatedly tried to catch up with the trading ventures of the southern European and Mediterranean maritime powers—the Portuguese, Genoese, Venetians, Spanish, and French. During this period, as far as the English political-mercantile élite was concerned, the geo-commercial and cultural direction for England was first and foremost southwards and eastwards, via intelligence centres and marketplaces such as Bordeaux and Venice. This shift has long been appreciated by historians of the decline of Venice and of the economic history of mid-Tudor England and is so familiar as not to require repetition here. But what has only recently begun to emerge is the extent and political centrality in England during this period of the commercial, diplomatic, and cultural rediscovery of the spaces to the south and east of Europe—and through them, beyond, 'eastwards', to the New World.¹⁰⁷

In his 1993 book *Merchants and Revolution*, Robert Brenner argues that the key political development of the late sixteenth century was the coup which placed an insider group of southward and eastward traders working in tandem with royal and Privy Council power at the heart of the city establishment. Interestingly it was the Spanish trade in

which this group had started, using this as a springboard for developing new trades with Africa, the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire, and the East, as well as preying on Portuguese ships returning from Brazil. The diplomatic developments—opening the way for Essex's later initiatives—accompanying these ventures centered on the figure of Walsingham. As the Turkey trade reopened in the 1570s, his diplomatic and intelligence network extended eastwards. He wrote that '[t]he fyrst thinge that is to be done . . . is to make choice of some apte man to be sent with her Majestes letters unto the Turke to procure an ample safe conduct, who is allwaies to remaine there at the charge of the merchantes'. The ambassador to the Turk was to become a new figure in the 'arms and letters' culture of the late sixteenth century.¹⁰⁸

Essexian politics and the new Mediterranean commercialism, two trends often at odds, together transformed and reinvigorated the conditions in which modern languages and modern language books were provided, taught, and used in the late Elizabethan period. So much has already been implied in the preceding discussion of the cultural changes reflected in the differences between Florio's first and second Italian language manuals, the uses made of these materials by Gabriel Harvey, and the turn taken by Florio's career in 1603. Between 1593 and 1599, when he was eclipsed by Robert Cecil, Essex single-handedly boosted the market in French dexterity and Italian confidence, if in political conditions rather different from those of the 1570s and 1580s.

The new political and cultural conditions for modern language study are evident in a publication of 1593, *Ortho-epia gallica. Eliots fruits for the French*. Warwickshire-born John Eliot had entered Brasenose, Oxford, in 1580, travelled in Italy, Spain, and France, and settled in the latter country to learn French and work as a schoolmaster—at least on his own account. When he was forced to return after the assassination of Henri III in 1589, saturated in the texts of the Gascon poet Du Bartas, he set out to prepare a set of French–English dialogues on the model of the Protestant manuals of the 1570s and 1580s. If we accept the arguments of Frances Yates as revised by Frederick Hard, the *Ortho-epia gallica* is a conflation of two publications, of which one—comprising the preliminary materials and the second and third books—is explicitly satirical and facetious, while the other—comprising the three dialogues

of the first book—replies to and adapts material from Florio's *Firste fruites*, but retains a serious, discursive purpose.¹⁰⁹

Whether this distinction holds or not, it is clear that the opening dialogue between a teacher (who is given Eliot's own background) and a scholar reveals the tenour of Eliot's overall critique of the thriving London culture of learned strangers' language-teaching. His mockery is aimed at the idea that, as Finch might have had it, 'there are very learned men and of great knowledge refugiate and retired to London for their conscie[n]ces, who teach the languages, and such as deserve to be well paid for their paines'. There may be 'some honest men', but what Eliot sees in general is high-mindedness, and both the superficiality and the immorality in practice of the strangers' teaching, anchored textually in the case of the Italians in the flourishing business in imported copies of 'Nicholas Machiavell, and Peter Aretine [Aretino]'. Their pupils 'after they have learned a "Comm'portez vous?" in French: a "Come state?" in Italian, and a "Beso las manos": in Spanish, they thinke themselves brave men by and by, and such fellowes as are worthie to be sent in ambassage to the great Turke'.¹¹⁰

Though Eliot will not buy a Finch-like story about the profitable example offered by pious exiled scholars and merchants, and aims his parodies accordingly, the volume does communicate zestful enthusiasm for London's polyglot culture and offers an alternative agenda for the learning of languages. In his copious rewriting of Florio's dialogue in the *Firste fruites*, 'To speake of England' (discussed earlier), Eliot excises the passage praising Protestant mercantilism and the liberties afforded the foreign merchants attending the official strangers' churches, but whereas Florio's speaker when asked where London merchants 'trafique[d]' merely answered '[t]hroughout al the world', Eliot's speaker evokes the new southern and central European, eastward-looking culture of commercialism:

Throughout all the world; In France, in Italie, in Spaine, in Barbarie, in Guynea, in Bresilia, in the East and West Indies, in the East countries: in Turkie, in Arabia, in Persia, in Tartarie, in Russia, in Poland, in Bohemia: in Hungary, in Germany, in Frizeland, in Flanders, in Denmarke, in Scotland, in Ireland, over all Asia, Europe, Affricke, and the new America.¹¹¹

A passage from the preface 'To the Gentleman Readers' makes explicit the particular rationale for studying French, namely the very diplomatic and intelligence network, centered in France, Italy, and the Mediterranean, that Essex was on the verge of accessing via heavy investment in scholars:

[T]he French is the only trading tongue in Europe. And againe, if we marke well the scituation of Fraunce, it lyeth in the very heart of Christianitie, and thither are sent Embassadors from al other quarters of *Europe*, from *England*, *Scotland*, *Pole-land*, *Constantinople*, *Italie*, *Barbarie*, *Spaine*, *Netherland*, *Germanie*, Agents from *Malta*, *Rhodes*, *Sicilie*, & from the Seigniorie of *Venice*, the Popes *Noncio* from *Rome*: and the French, they have their Lidgers, Agents, & Embassadors with all these States againe, beside the great trafficke and entercourse of merchants from all these parts, and the recourse of the French trading with them all againe, maketh their language very famous, and in very high request and estimation.¹¹²

What of Essex's specific contribution, though, to this reinvigorated modern language culture? One telling sequence of events from the mid-1590s can be adduced. In 1595 Essex sent Anthony Ersfield and Cambridge University orator Robert Naunton on missions to Paris, the civil lawyer Dr Henry Hawkyns to Venice, while in 1596 he sent Monsieur Le Doux initially to Venice as a replacement for Hawkyns but then in the event on to Vienna, and the Oxford man Sir Thomas Chaloner to Florence. In four out of five of these cases copies of Essex's instructions upon departure survive. The general terms of these instructions (with the possible exception of the rather brief note for Ersfield) make it clear that Essex saw himself as making a long-term investment in expertise in European languages and political geography.¹¹³

More specifically, Hawkyns is required to provide regular accounts not just of Venice 'and the states of Italy, but of Turkye and all places which are any waye neere to Venyce or from whence the Venetians have ordinarye advertizementes'. He must also 'wynne some persons in the places from whence the greatest newes can comme, as from Rome and Spayne'. In mid-1595, Essex decided to start sending the

weekly gazettes of news that were the result of these injunctions to Sir Thomas Egerton, who had just been appointed Lord Keeper. The initiative came from Francis Bacon and was supported by his brother Anthony, who accordingly required Hawkyns 'to alter the style of his reports, in order to accommodate Egerton's inability to read Italian'. This is fascinating in light of the fact that sometime between 1598 and 1603 John Florio dedicated a copy of his Italian-English dictionary to Egerton, inscribed with a sonnet authored by his friend Matthew Gwinne arguing that it 'maie without disparagement befit / To knowe Italiane; since Italianes beare / Inteligence with moste . . .'.* As earlier, we are able to tie the promotion of Florio's dictionary in with specific diplomatic uses of Italian in the channels between the international intelligence market at Catholic Venice and Protestant London. In this case, it seems likely to me that Florio and Gwinne have in mind the specific problem arising from the fact that Egerton is not linguistically equipped to benefit fully from Essex's Italian intelligence.¹¹⁴

Meanwhile, the document prepared for Naunton for his trip to Paris in 1595 emphasises that this is his first employment,

into ffrance where you will a while wante language to negotiate, and therefore yow must thincke that the cheife ende of your goinge over. . . .

. . . I woulde wishe yow seeke language and experience: ffor language yow shall have opportunitie to learne the ffrenche by the place of your resydence, and the Spannishe by the person with whome I have directed yow to converse. . . . To attayne the Frenche quickly yow must converse with ffrenche, and bothe studye it and use to speake all those wordes yow have gotten. To have Signor Perez willingly helpe yow in the Spanishe yow must pretende to studye the tonge aswell because it is hys, as for the excellencye of it selfe, and because yow have ben a professed orator. If yow will use an amplificacion yow maye saye yow learne

*Florio's *World of wordes* was published in 1598. The manuscript dedicatory sonnet is addressed to Egerton as 'Lord keeper', whereas he became Lord Chancellor in 1603 (Hasler, *op. cit.*).

Spanishe to understande Raphael Peregrinos booke [Pérez's autobiography] aswell as Bartas did Englishe to understande Sir Phillip Sydneys *Arcadia* which will make hym desyrus of hym selfe because he hath nothings left hym els to reade perhaps to yow hym selfe.¹¹⁵

We get an inkling here of the way in which the Protestant diplomatic culture of the 1570s and 1580s provides Essex with paradigms which associate particular diplomatic friendships with particular texts and the acquisition of particular modern languages, though there is some irony in the way that the precedent of Gascon Protestant Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas's relationship with Philip Sidney is proposed as a strategy to fox the cantakerous old Spanish Catholic exile and notorious double-agent Pérez into teaching Naunton Spanish and unloading yet more of his precious secrets about Spanish policy and government. This is compatible with a sense already there in the materials relating to Florio's career: the politically Protestant, Anglo-French(-Italian) *cultural* tradition persisted as a symbolic context—the nexus between the international ideology of Protestantism, protection for learned strangers and Protestant paradigms of discipline in pedagogy and spirituality—for the trade in modern language pedagogy, modern language books and translations; the uses, however, of these languages in the practical, complicated, cross-confessional politics of diplomacy were rarely, if at all, governed by the ethos of Protestant spiritual discipline and friendship.

Persist this nexus did, though, as a matter of cultural tradition. In 1603, the dedication of the second book of Montaigne's *Essayes* was to Sidney's daughter (Elizabeth Manners, Countess of Rutland) and 'friend' (Lady Penelope Rich). It is only natural that Florio's authoritative models of divine translation from the French should be Sidney's translations of works by Du Bartas* (not extant) and by Protestant

*Montaigne, *Essayes*, sig. R3^r: ' . . . yet as that Worthie did divinely even in French translating some part of that excellent du Plessis, and (as I have seene) the first septmaine of that Arch-Poet du Bartas (which good Ladies, be so good to all, as all this age may see, and after-ages honor) so though we much more meanelly doe in meaner workes etc. . . . '.

diplomat Phillipe du Mornay (partly extant).¹¹⁶ If we are seeking a more profoundly historical sense of the reception of Montaigne in Renaissance England we may have to look more widely for evidence relating to the specificities of the learned Protestant strangers' pedagogy, and more closely at the problem of how they taught Catholic texts in an Essexian and post-Essexian world.

There is evidence that at least three of these exiled teachers used Montaigne's *Essais* as a core textbook in their French language teaching. A copy of the *Essais* is to be found in the teaching library of M. Le Doux, inventoried as he left the Harington-Russell household on instructions from Essex to substitute for Dr Hawkyns at Venice (which in the event he did not do). Florio did some of his translation of Montaigne in the very same household, and his three dedications to the published work are a sustained essay on the spiritual and social virtues of Protestant aristocratic households in which modern languages are taught by strangers such as himself and used in the entertainment of foreign dignitaries. That his translation is closely tied to his reading in French with his noblewomen pupils is clearest when he describes how it will 'serve you two to repeate in true English what you reade in fine French' and when he tackles the thorny pedagogical problem of how to read with his ladies a text which finds only three good women, all of whom committed suicide for love of their husbands. The text of the *Essays* themselves, though, remain largely uncensored; Florio follows 'if not his [Montaigne's] Paris Preacher, at least his douceur Françoise'.¹¹⁷

There is, finally, the case of the very obscure Jonathan de Saint Sernin, who in 1626 published with Edward Allde his *Essais et observations sur les Essais du seigneur de Montaigne*.^{*} This small volume is clearly an outcrop from Saint Sernin's French language lessons with

^{*}There are only two known copies of this in Britain, both in the British Library. The first (pressmark 1472.aa.11) is bound in with seventeenth-century catechisms, dialogues, and a pastoral letter. It declares 'A Londres de l'imprimerie d'Edward Allde 1626' on the title page and bears a dedication to 'Monsieur Edoward Osburne'. The other copy (pressmark 820.a. 17) appears to have a defective title page, with no mention of a printer, and is dedicated to 'Monsieur Iean Chasteau'. My citations are from this latter copy.

the English aristocracy and comprises two of his own essays followed by commentary on the first six of Montaigne's. There is an epistle to the '*tres-generouse, tres-magnanime, & tres-invincible Noblesse de la Grande Bretagne*' in which all the '*discours*' his wit has engendered in their country '*estant estranger*' are credited to '*vos Excellences & Seigneuries, comme fort amateurs de la langue Françoisé*'.¹¹⁸

In his commentary on Montaigne's first essay, '*Par divers moyens on arrive à pareille fin*', in which Montaigne assesses from an entirely secular and politic point of view the relative success of various ways of appeasing angry tyrants, Saint Sernin decides that a theological gloss is needed on how to 'take' Montaigne's point:

*[V]ous ne pouvez aller au Ciel & en Paradis que par une voye, à scavoir par nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ. Partant ceste enontiation ['Par divers moyens etc . . .'] se doit prendre particuliere, c'est à dire, en certaines actions, comme en celle que le Seigneur de Montagne allegue, qui est, que quand vous avez irrité quelcun qui est plus grand que vous, & qui à le pouvoir de se venger. Il y a deux moyens pour l'appaiser.*¹¹⁹

The politic readings stand, but within an explicitly theological frame. In his commentary on the third essay, about affections transporting us beyond ourselves, he picks up an isolated phrase from Montaigne's story about how the reforming Bohemian warrior Zischa commanded a drum to be made of his skin for scaring enemies in battle: '*la foy de Wiclef (que le Seigneur de Montagne, parce qu'il estoit Papiste, appelle erreurs)*'. This can be directly compared with Florio's translation of the same passage, which refers to '*Wickliff's opinions*'. In these diplomatic turns of phrase there are hints of a local, post-1593 tradition in learned strangers' modern language reading and teaching, which nurtures and moderates conversation between the Protestant and the honest or the informative papist, whether French, Italian, or even Spanish.¹²⁰

Notes

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1. Anthony Munday *et al.*, *The Book of Sir Thomas More*, ed. Vittorio Gabrieli and Giorgio Melchiori (Adriatica, Bari, 1981), scenes iii, lines 14, 16–24, 48–56; vi, lines 138–42; xvii, lines 74–5; pp. 59–60, 69–71, 94 (Tilney's note censoring the scenes depicting the riot), 187 (mentioning 'Mess T Goodal' the actor), 292 (extract from Hall's *Chronicle*), 302; *The New Cambridge Modern History*, 3, *The Counter-Reformation and Price Revolution, 1559–1610*, ed. R. B. Wernham (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1968), pp. 255–57; W. R. Streitberger, *Edmond Tyllney, Master of the Revels and Censor of Plays: A Descriptive Index to His Diplomatic Manual on Europe* (AMS Press, New York, 1986), p. 45. The manuscript of *Thomas More*, which shows evidence of revisions, is dated 1590–1593 in the edition used here. More's speeches before the rioters are found in the 'Hand D' addition, ascribed to Shakespeare.

2. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, both of the House of Lords and House of Commons* (London, 1682), p. 479a. The main source for the proceedings of the 1593 session of the House of Commons is the anonymous journal (British Library, Cotton MSS, Titus F. II) used by D'Ewes himself. In what follows I have preferred to cite directly from the manuscript journal but have used D'Ewes as a guide. For a description of the extant manuscript copies of this journal, and of the nature of D'Ewes's use of it, see David Malcolm Dean, 'Bills and Acts 1584–1601' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1984), pp. 23–24.

3. J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1584–1601* (St Martin's Press, New York, 1958), pp. 298–312; R. B. Wernham, *After the Armada* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984), pp. 468–74; D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 505b–506b, 509a; *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis, 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639*, ed. Irene Scouloudi (Huguenot Society of London, London, 1985), pp. 64–66; Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986), pp. 291–93, 301; M. A. Graves, 'Managing Elizabethan Parliaments', in *The Parliaments of Elizabethan England*, ed. D. M. Dean and N. L. Jones (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1990), pp. 37–63 (p. 53).

4. *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, 3 vols, ed. P. W. Hasler, History of Parliament Series (H.M.S.O. for the History of the Parliament Trust, London, 1981) [hereafter 'Hasler'], 'Finch, Henry (1558-1625)'.

5. British Library, Cotton MSS, Titus F. II, fols 69^v-70^r; D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, pp. 506b-507a. D'Ewes sticks quite closely to the diarist's text but converts the reported speech to direct speech—a smooth, rounded oration.

6. Sergio Rossi, 'Noti sugli Italiani in Inghilterra nell'età del Rinascimento', in *Saggi sul Rinascimento*, ed. Sergio Rossi (Edizioni UNICOPLI, Milan, 1984), pp. 55-115 (p. 113); Pettegree, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-45 (pp. 26, 45).

7. Pettegree, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 129-31, 149, 270, 272; Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 20 (1958-1964), pp. 528-55.

8. Geoffrey Elton, 'England and the Continent in the Sixteenth Century' in *Reform and Reformation*, ed. Derek Baker (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1979), pp. 1-16 (p. 9); James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, 1st ed., 1965 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968), *passim*; M. A. Overell, 'The Reception and Influence of the Italian Reformation in England, 1547-1642' (unpublished M. Phil. dissertation, University of Leeds, 1986); Sergio Rossi, *Ricerche sull' Umanesimo e sul Rinascimento in Inghilterra* (Vita e Pensiero, Milan, 1969), pp. 64-94; Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987), *passim*; Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635', *Past and Present*, 114 (1987), pp. 32-76 (pp. 34, 38, 45, 61).

9. Foster Watson, 'Notes and Materials on Religious Refugees', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 9 (1909-1911), pp. 299-475 (pp. 314-20); Overell, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Pettegree, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Elton, 'England and the Continent', pp. 15-16; Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (Unwin Hyman, London, 1988), pp. 227-29.

10. Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982), pp. 279, 283; Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, p. 249.

11. Clair Cross, 'Continental Students and the Protestant Reformation in England in the Sixteenth Century', in *Reform and Reformation*, pp. 35-57; Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (Cambridge University Press, New York, 1955), pp. 134-37; Watson, 'Notes and Materials', pp. 382-87; Pettegree, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-72; Paul Hammer, "'The Bright Shining Sparke": The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, c. 1585-c. 1597' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1991), ch. 2.

12. Maria Grazia Bellorini, 'Giovanni Battista Castiglione consigliere di Elisabetta I', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di filologia moderna. Serie inglese*, ed. Sergio Rossi (Vita e pensiero, Milan, 1974), pp. 113-41; *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*; Rosenberg, *Leicester*, pp. 56, 287-88.

13. *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile*, 2 vols, ed. Gustav Ungerer (Tamesis Books, London, 1974-76), 1, pp. 73, 295-99; 2, pp. 168-84, 218.

14. Pettegree, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-68; Jocelyne G. Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance* (Duckworth, London, 1986), p. 230. For de Maçon, see Simon Adams, 'The Protestant Cause: Religious Alliance with the West European Calvinist Communities as a Political Issue in England, 1585-1630' (unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1973), pp. 128-29; for Castol, see Ungerer, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 173-74; for Stoupe, see Watson, 'Notes and Materials', pp. 397-98.

15. On Aconcio's career and theological eirenicism, see Rosenberg, *Leicester*, pp. 54-56; John Tedeschi, 'I contributi culturali dei riformatori protestanti nel tardo Rinascimento', *Italica*, 64 (1987), p. 39; Luigi Firpo, 'La Chiesa Italiana di Londra nel Cinquecento e i suoi rapporti con Ginevra', in *Ginevra e L'Italia*, ed. Delio Cantimori *et al.* (G. C. Sansoni, Florence, 1959), pp. 309-412 (pp. 326-27, 331-34, 354-55); Patrick Collinson, 'Calvinism with an Anglican Face', in *Reform and Reformation*, pp. 71-102 (pp. 85-87, 92, 102); Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 82-83; Pettegree, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 173.

16. Rossi, 'Note sugli Italiani', p. 57; *The Works of John Whitgift*, 3 vols, ed. Rev. John Ayre (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1851-1853), 3, p. 617. The letter is to 'Mr Dr Nevile' (Master of Trinity College) and is dated 8 December 1595.

17. On de Dominis, see Kenneth Fincham, 'Prelacy and Politics: Archbishop Abbot's Defence of Protestant Orthodoxy', *Historical Research*, 61 (1988), pp. 36-64 (p. 51); Rossi, 'Note', pp. 105-08; *DNB*, 'Dominis, Marco Antonio de (1566-1624)'. On Saravia, see *DNB*, 'Saravia, Hadrian à (1531-1613)'; Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, p. 9; Watson, 'Notes and Materials', pp. 436-39.

18. John Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, 3 vols (Ecclesiastical History Society, Oxford, 1848-1854), 3, p. 699. Frances Yates does not cite this letter, which corroborates her argument concerning a direct connection between Northumberland and Michelangelo Florio; Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1934), p. 11. Little has been added to the biography of Michelangelo since the first chapter of Yates's book on his son. John Florio came to England sometime in the 1560s or early 1570s and certainly by 1576-1578, *ibid.*, pp. 1-27; Firpo, 'La chiesa Italiana', pp. 317-23.

19. Yates, *Florio*, pp. 7-13; Firpo, 'La chiesa Italiana', pp. 320-23; Rossi, *Ricerche*, pp. 102-05; C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study of the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1938), pp. 78-79, 155, 169-70, 253, 363-64.

20. Warren Boutcher, 'Vernacular Humanism in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996), pp. 189–202.

21. Rossi, 'Noti sugli Italiani', pp. 58–61; Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1978), 1, pp. 194–95; McConica, *English Humanists*, *passim*; Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–72; Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Cape, London, 1955), pp. 236–37; Watson, 'Notes and Materials', p. 397; *The Tudor Constitution*, 2nd ed., ed. G. R. Elton (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982), pp. 119, n. 11, 126.

22. Yates, *Florio*, pp. 27–28, 47, 53.

23. J. M. Fletcher, 'The Faculty of Arts', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, 3, pp. 157–99 (pp. 173–74, 188). References to university modern language studies, foreign tutors, and, in one or two cases, the payments they received can be found in Kathleen Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1920), pp. 198–210; *History of the University of Oxford*, 3, pp. 61, 696; Watson, 'Notes and Materials', p. 323; Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Lawrence Stone, 'The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580–1909' in *The University in Society*, 2 vols, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1974), 1, pp. 3–110 (p. 26).

24. G. A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe, 1500–1700: Trends in Vernacular Grammar*, 2 vols (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985–1988), 1, pp. 1–5; 2, pp. 22–85; D. J. O'Connor, 'John Florio's Contribution to Italian–English Lexicography', *Italica*, 49 (1972), pp. 49–67; David O. Frantz, 'Florio's Use of Contemporary Italian Literature in *A Worlde of Wordes*', *Dictionaries*, 1 (1979), pp. 45–56; D. G. Rees, 'John Florio and Anton Francesco Doni', *Comparative Literature*, 15 (1963), pp. 33–38.

25. Yates, *Florio*, pp. 140–46; Lambley, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 175, 181–82; Padley, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 136; Elizabeth K. Hudson, 'The Colloquies of Maturin Cordier: Images of Calvinist School Life', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 5, 2 (1978), pp. 57–78.

26. Foster Watson, *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England* (Sir. I. Pitman, London, 1909), pp. 424–29, 435–42, 446–50, 473–79, 487; Watson, 'Notes and Materials', pp. 331–82; Yates, *Florio*, pp. 36, 41; Lambley, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–54.

27. Schickler, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 124.

28. Lambley, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–69; Juliet Fleming, 'The French Garden: An Introduction to Women's French', *English Literary History*, 56 (1989), pp. 19–51 (p. 29).

29. R. C. Simonini, *Italian Scholarship in Renaissance England* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1952), pp. 42–45; Peter S. Donaldson,

Machiavelli and Mystery of State (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988), pp. 41–44.

30. Pierre Du Ploiche, *A treatise in Englishe and Frenche right necessary for al young children* (London, 1551)—including translations of the Catechism and the Litany, with a second edition in 1578; Scipio Lentulo, *An Italian grammer written in Latin and turned in Englishe*, tr. H. Grantham (London, 1575); D. de San Pedro, *The pretie and wittie historie of Arnalt & Lucenda: with certen rules and dialogues for the learner of th'Italian tong*, tr. (from B Marraffi's Italian version) and comp. Claude Desainliens (Italian and English), (London, 1575)—another edition revised, enlarged, and rearranged as *The Italian schoole-maister*, 1597, itself revised 1608; G. Pichonnaye de la Ledoyen, *A playne treatise to learne in a short space the Frenche tongue* (London, 1576); Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza [Marqués de Santillana], *The prouerbes of . . . sir James Lopez de Mendoza with the paraphrase of P. Diaz*, tr. B. Googe (London, 1579); Jacques Bellot, *Le jardin de vertu, et bonnes meurs* (French and English), (London, 1581); Charles Merbury, *A briefe discourse of royall monarchie, as of the best common weale: wherin the subiect may beholde the sacred maiestie of the princes of the most royall estate Wherunto is added . . . a collection of Italian proverbes, . . .* (London, 1581); *The welspring of wittie conceites: containing, a methode, aswel to speake, as to endight great varietie of pithy sentences*, tr. (from Italian) W. Phiston (London, 1584); Jacques Bellot, *Familiar dialogues, for the instruction of them, that be desirous to learne to speake English* (English and French), (London, 1586). Merbury, Bellot (both works), and Lentulo were all printed by Vautrollier.

31. Woudhuysen, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Merbury, *op. cit.*, sig. *3^r–4^r; Parmenius, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–18.

32. Merbury, *op. cit.*, sigs A2^v, H1^v.

33. The relevant passages from Harvey have been quoted often. See, for example, Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984), pp. 25–26.

34. Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1979), pp. 156–64.

35. Caroline Brown Bourland, 'Gabriel Harvey and the Modern Languages', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 4 (1940–1941), pp. 85–106 (pp. 96, 103–04).

36. John Florio, *Florio his firste fruites: which yeelde familiar speech, merie proverbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings. Also a perfect induction to the Italian, and English tongues* (London, 1578); Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–56, 213 (Houghton shelf mark *EC.H2623.Zz578f). I am very grateful to Lisa Jardine for providing me with a photostat of this copy, and to George Hoffmann for finding time at a difficult moment to check my descriptions and transcriptions

against the original. The leaves of signature A must have been misfolded, since the text does not follow the correct sequence as bound. To follow the dialogues, the reader must read as follows: A₁^r, A₃^v, A₂^r, A₄^v, A₃^r, A₁^v, A₄^r, A₂^v, B₁^r. Beneath the catchwords of the pages that are printed out of the correct order Harvey has written a note indicating the location of the page that should follow.

37. The date is found at sig. Ss₃^v. See Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, "Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), pp. 31–78 (pp. 49–50).

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37, 40–42.

39. For example: Orazio Toscanella's collection from Vives, Holyband's *The pretie and wittie historie of Arnalt & Lucenda* (sig. A₁^r; STC 6758); Guazzo's *Civil conversatione* (sig. F₁^v); Thomas's *Dictionarie* (STC 24020), and Citolini's *La tipocosmia* (sig. Dd₃^r).

40. Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

41. For further material on diplomats and languages, see Boutcher, *op. cit.*

42. *Ibid.*, sig. [Tt]₃^v.

43. Glyn Redworth, *In Defence of the Catholic Church* (B. Blackwell, Cambridge, MA, 1990), pp. 248–81.

44. Compare Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: The Institutionalizing of Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1986), p. 44.

45. The 'Hystorie' starts in Foxe, *op. cit.* at sig. HH₁^r.

46. Harvey's *Firste frutes*, sig. [Uu]₁^r; Foxe, *op. cit.*, sig. HH₂^v [p. 592b].

47. John Florio, *Florios second frutes, to be gathered of twelve trees, of divers but delightsome tastes to the tongues of Italians and Englishmen. To which is annexed his gardine of recreation yeelding six thousand Italian proverbs* (London, 1591).

48. Rossi, *Ricerche*, pp. 127–28.

49. On urbanity and the proverb in Renaissance London, see Lawrence Manley, 'Proverbs, Epigrams, and Urbanity in Renaissance London', *English Literary Renaissance*, 15 (1985), pp. 247–76.

50. Keir Elam, *Shakespeare's Universe of Discourse: Language-garres in the Comedies* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984), pp. 275–89 (pp. 276, 277).

51. Gamberini, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Yates, *Florio*, pp. 136–38.

52. Annabel Patterson, 'Re-opening the Green Cabinet', in *Renaissance Historicism*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney and Dan S. Collins (University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1987), pp. 64–92 (p. 80).

53. Yates, *Florio*, pp. 128–29.

54. Florio, *Second frutes*, sigs Z₁^r, Z₃^r, Aa₂^r, Aa₃^{r-v}; Yates, *Florio*, p. 261. See William Vaughan, *The golden fleece divided into three parts, under which are discovered the errours of religion, the vices and decayes of the kingdome*,

and lastly the wayes to get wealth, and to restore trading so much complayned of (printed for Francis Williams, London, 1626).

55. Florio, *Second frutes*, sigs Y4^r, Z3^r, Cc3^{r-v}.

56. *Ibid.*, sigs Aa1^r, Cc1^r (on the judgement of 'that Venerian Paris').

57. See Mary Ellen Lamb, 'The Countess of Pembroke's Patronage', *English Literary Renaissance*, 12 (1982), pp. 162-79.

58. Bernard H. Newdigate, *Michael Drayton and His Circle* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1941), pp. 56-65; Patricia Thomson, 'John Donne and the Countess of Bedford', *Modern Language Review*, 44 (1944), pp. 329-40.

59. I have used the text of the masque and dedication printed in John Nichols, *The Progresses of King James the First*, 4 vols, 1 (London, 1828), pp. 305-10, *311-*314. Information on the performance is given in E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols, 3 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1923), pp. 277-81. See also Geoffrey Creigh, 'Samuel Daniel's Masque "The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses"', *Essays and Studies* (1971), pp. 22-35.

60. Jardine and Grafton, *From Humanism*, pp. 29-57 (p. 55); Giovanni Michele Bruto, *The necessarie, fit and convenient education of a yong gentlewoman*, tr. W. P. (London, 1598), sig. F4^r.

61. Rosemary O'Day, *Education and Society, 1500-1800: The Social Foundation of Education in Early Modern Britain* (Longman, London and New York, 1982), pp. 183-85; *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret Patterson Hannay (Kent State University Press, Ohio, 1985), *passim*. See STC 17320, 18764.

62. Retha M. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, 1983), pp. 17-36, 186-88, 195-96.

63. Desainliens dedicated *The treasure of the French tong* (1580) and *A treatise for declining of verbes* (1580) to Lucy Harington's mother.

64. John L. Lievsay, *The Englishman's Italian Books* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1969), p. 34, n. 2 (re Lady Elizabeth Barkley); *DNB*, 'Wotton, Edward . . . (1548-1626)'. For Minsheu, see STC 17944, 17944a.

65. M. G. Brennan, 'The Literary Patronage of the Herbert Family, Earls of Pembroke, 1550-1640' (unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1982), p. 137. The letter is found in Inner Temple, Petyt MS 53843/1, fols 286-89.

66. Thomas Nashe, *The Works*, 2nd ed., rev. F. P. Wilson, 5 vols, ed. R. B. McKerrow (B. Blackwell, Oxford, 1958), 3, pp. 109-13.

67. Yates, *Florio*, pp. 61-76, 125, 216-19, 246.

68. PRO SP 46/125, fols 163-64.

69. See, in general, Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland* (Harvester Press, Hassocks, 1976).

70. Hasler, 'Dymoke, Sir Edward (c. 1557-1624)'.

71. Hasler, *ibid.*; Mark Eccles, 'Samuel Daniel in France and Italy', *Studies in Philology*, 34 (1937), pp. 148–67. Pierre Spriet, *Samuel Daniel (1563–1619)*, (Didier, Paris, 1968), pp. 71–85.

72. Yates, *Florio*, pp. 247, 249–58, 260.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 217–18.

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 61, n. 2, 69–70.

75. DNB; Hasler, *op. cit.*; Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509–1688* (Royal Historical Society, London, 1990), pp. 91, 191, 192.

76. *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ed. Luigi Firpo, vol. 1–, 1 (Bottega d'Erasmus, Turin, 1965–), pp. xviii, (485)–(489).

77. PRO SP 99/2, fols 157–58, 183, 184.

78. Montaigne, *Essayes*, sigs A2^v, Rr3^r; *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, 38 vols (Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, London, 1864–1947), 9, pp. 529, 533–34. The calendar gives full translations of Scaramelli's despatches (4 February 1603–7 February 1604) to the Venetian Senate during his stay in England. These can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Inghilterra, filza 2, nos 1–58.

79. *CSP Venetian*, 9, p. 567; 10, pp. 9, 62.

80. *Ibid.*, 10, p. 94.

81. PRO SP 85/3, fol. 131.

82. PRO SP 99/8, fol. 75; *Relazioni*, 1, p. xix.

83. The Matthew copy is in the library of York Minster. For the Egerton copy, see Boutcher, *op. cit.*.

84. Yates, *Florio*, p. 167; Rossi, *Ricerche*, p. 152 n. 84. In both these cases the arguments that the compilers have Florio specifically in mind are convincing; see Yates, *Florio*, pp. 153–73, and Rossi, *Ricerche*, pp. 150–58.

85. Fincham, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 38–40, 44–45, 49, 51.

86. Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984), pp. 30–31, 41, and in general 'The Rhetoric of Elizabethan Suitors' Letters', *PMLA* 96 (1981), pp. 864–82; Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Prentice-Hall, New York, 1950; reprint, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969).

87. *World of wordes*, sig. a7^v; J. L. Rosier, 'Lexical Strata in Florio's *New World of Words*', *English Studies*, 44 (1963), pp. 415–23.

88. Pam Wright, 'A Change in Direction: The Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558–1603', in David Starkey *et al.*, *The English Court: From the War of the Roses to the Civil War* (Longman, London, 1987), pp. 147–72 (p. 151); G. K. Hunter, *John Lyly, the Humanist as Courtier* (Routledge & K. Paul, London, 1962), p. 87.

89. Yates, *Florio*, pp. 293–300 (pp. 297, 300), 312–16. The will (Somerset

House, Prerogative Court of Canterbury 97 Hele) is printed in Comtesse de Longworth Chambrun, *Giovanni Florio* (Payot and cie, Paris, 1921), pp. 219–21.

90. Yates, *Florio*, pp. 316–17; Chambrun, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–20.

91. Trajano Boccalini, *The new-found politicke*, tr. John Florio, T. Scott and W. Vaughan (printed for Francis Williams, London, 1626); Vaughan, *The golden fleece*.

92. Rossi, 'Note sugli Italiani', pp. 100–04. Michael Brennan informed me in a private communication of September 1987 that his own researches had revealed nothing concerning the outcome of Florio's bequest. The Herbert family library has not survived.

93. Yates, *Florio*, pp. 283–92; Richard A. McCabe, *Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Mediation* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1982), pp. 92–109, 321–30; Brennan, 'Literary Patronage', pp. 241–44; Sidney Lee, 'An Elizabethan Book-seller', *Bibliographica*, 1 (1895), pp. 474–98. Healey's translation of *Philip Mornay, lord of Plessis his teares* was also published in 1609, but the dedication to his friend 'John Coventry' does not indicate the kind of 'protection' alluded to by Thorpe.

94. In my identifications of the items on the dictionary booklists, I am indebted to the annotations in Rossi, *Ricerche*, pp. 193–212. The Italian editions I cite are the ones he offers—Florio gives only an abbreviated title and does not always record the author. There is no categorisation offered in the lists themselves. The translation of Garzoni was compiled with the use of Florio's *Worlde of wordes*: see Lievsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–84.

95. Such as Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*, Cinzio's *Hecatommitti*, Guisone's *Du Bartas*, the *Orlando Furioso*, various *Lettere* and *Orationi*, and the dialogues of Giordano Bruno, Aretino, Varchi, Guazzo.

96. Including Davanzati's *Tacitus*, Narni's *Livy*, Gandini's *Xenophon*, works such as the *Ragion di stato* by the Tacitean and Machiavellian (also Catholic) Giovanni Botero, Paruta's *Della perfettione della vita politica* and *Discorsi politici*, Franchetta's *Seminario dei governi di stato e di guerra*, Guicciardini's *L'Historia d'Italia*, the *Tesoro politico cioè relationi, istruzioni, discorsi varii d'ambasciatori*, and the works of Machiavelli.

97. Such as Rocca's *Imprese, stratagemmi et errori militari*, Capobianco's *Corona e palma militare di artiglieria*, Gentilini's *Istruttione di artiglieri*, and Ruscelli's *Precetti della militia moderna*.

98. The *Galateo*, the *Cortegiano*, Guazzo's *Civil conversazione*, and Guarini's manual for the late sixteenth-century secretary: *Il segretario: dialogo nel quale non sol si tratta dell'ufficio del segretario e del modo di compor lettere, ma sono sparsi molti concetti alla retorica, morale e politica pertinenti*.

99. On Aretino's response to the evangelical literature of Erasmus and Ochino, see Christopher Cairns, *Pietro Aretino and the Republic of Venice* (L. S. Olschki, Florence, 1985), pp. 86–124, 131–38.

100. PRO SP 46/127, fol. 138.

101. J. H. Elliott, *Europe Divided, 1559–1598* (Collins, London and Glasgow, 1968), p. 376; *The Counter-Reformation*, ed. Wernham, pp. 310–11.

102. G. D. Ramsay, 'The Foreign Policy of Elizabeth I', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. Christopher Haigh (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1984), pp. 147–68.

103. British Library, Cotton MSS, Titus F. II, fols 68^v–69^v; D'Ewes, p. 506a–b; *DNB*, 'Wolley, Sir John (d. 1596)'; Hasler, 'Dymoke, Sir Edward (c. 1557–1624)'; Neale, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–72.

104. Richard Marienstras, *New Perspectives on the Shakespearean World*, tr. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985), p. 134; Ramsay, 'Foreign Policy', p. 159.

105. See Elliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 362–66, for changes in the European diplomatic and military scene during the 1590s.

106. Hammer, "'That Bright Shininge Sparke'", pp. 35, 128–29, 143 and n. 221.

107. In this and the next paragraph, I am drawing in general on Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993), pp. 61–91; Halil Inalcik, 'Northerners in the Mediterranean', in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, ed. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994), pp. 364–79; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585–1603* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1964), chs 2 and 4; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984); Kenneth R. Andrews, 'Sir Robert Cecil and Mediterranean Plunder', *English Historical Review*, 87 (1972), pp. 513–32.

108. *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578–82*, ed. S. Skitter (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977), pp. 27–32. Samuel Daniel's prefatory verse epistle in Montaigne, *Essayes*, sig. ¶1^{r-v}, figures Montaigne as a heroic ambassador to the 'Seraglio of subjection'.

109. John Eliot, *Ortho-Epia Gallica. Eliots fruits for the French: Entelaced with a double new invention, which teacheth to speake truly, speedily and volubly the French-tongue* (John Wolfe, London, 1593); David H. Thomas, 'John Eliot's Borrowings from Du Bartas in his Minor Works', *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 43 (1969), pp. 263–76 (pp. 265–66); Frances Yates, 'John Eliot's *Ortho-Epia Gallica*', *The Review of English Studies*, 7 (1931), pp. 419–30; Yates, *Florio*, pp. 139–73; Frederick Hard, 'Notes on John Eliot and His "Ortho-Epia Gallica"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 1 (1938), pp. 169–187.

110. Eliot, *op. cit.*, sig. D2^{r-v}.

111. Florio, *Firste fruites*, sig. D3^r–D4^r; Eliot, *op. cit.*, sigs I4^v–K1^r.

112. Eliot, *op. cit.*, sig. B1^{r–v}.

113. All my information about these documents (University of London Library, MS 187, fols 9^v–15^r and Lambeth Palace Library, MS 656, fol. 186^{r–v}) comes from Paul Hammer's paper 'Essex and Europe: Evidence from Confidential Instructions by the Earl of Essex, 1595–1596', *English Historical Review*, 111 (April 1996), pp. 357–81. I am very grateful to Dr Hammer of the University of New England, Australia, for providing me with a copy of this paper prior to its publication and allowing me to cite from it, as also from his invaluable Ph.D. thesis.

114. University of London Library, MS 187, fols 9^v, 11^r, transcribed in Hammer, 'Essex and Europe', Appendix 1; Hammer, "'That Bright Shininge Sparke'", p. 136; Boutcher, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

115. University of London Library, MS 187, fols 12^v–13^v, transcribed, in Hammer, 'Essex and Europe', Appendix 1.

116. For de Mornay, see STC 18149; Philippe de Mornay, *A woorke concerning the trewnesse of the christian religion. Begunne to be [tr.] by Sir P. Sidney and finished by A. Golding* (imprinted [by George Robinson] for Thomas Cadman, London, 1587). Aside from Florio's, other attestations to Sidney's lost translation of Du Bartas's 'first septmaine' can be found in Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1991), pp. 251–51, 265, and *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. W. A. Ringer (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962), p. 339. Letters of the 1580s from Du Bartas (mentioning his 'seconde sepmaine') and de Mornay to Anthony Bacon (at the time resident in southwest France) can be found in British Library Cotton MS Nero B. VI at fols 288^r and 344^r.

117. Lambeth Palace Library, Bacon MS 655, fol. 186^r; Montaigne, *Essayes*, sigs A2^r, R2^{r–v}. The reference is to *Essayes*, 2, ch. 35, 'Of three good Women'.

118. Sainct Sernin, *Essais*, sig. A6^r, A7^v; STC 21551.7.

119. *Ibid.*, sig. C1^{r–v}.

120. *Ibid.*, sig. C8^r; Montaigne, *Essayes*, tr. Florio, sig. B4^r.

The Bible in Print in England before Tyndale¹

Kimberly Van Kampen

The Scriptorium: Center for Christian Antiquities

Virtually every western European country can claim proudly a beautifully printed, large format, fifteenth-century Bible as its own. By 1500, the biblical text had been published in a variety of ways; verse divisions, illustrations, concordances, glosses, concordances to glosses, and other devices were common study aids provided in Bibles by printers for readers. Most often these folios were printed in Latin, with the press even an unwitting agent of change to the text of the Vulgate.² Occasionally, as in Germany, Bibles were printed in the native language—embodying not only a nation's technological advances for the time, but also its intellectual and linguistic strides.

Although it is well known that no English Bible appeared before 1525, it is not generally known that no complete Bible in any language was issued from English presses for another ten years after Tyndale. In 1535 Thomas Berthelet introduced the first Vulgate printed in England but it compared poorly to its continental equivalents—it was a quarto and textually incomplete. England is unique in that it took a contraband Bible, Tyndale's (in the vernacular no less), to get the process of Bible printing started.

This fact, in a sense, is consistent with the uneven history of English biblical tradition. Although rich, the tradition of the English Bible before Tyndale is one of great gaps. Quite simply, it is: Anglo-Saxons, Wycliffites, Tyndale. The Incunable Period falls directly into that gap between the followers of Wyclif and the work of Tyndale—the period of time in England when Caxton perfected his craft, Chaucer and Mallory were gloriously published, and the nation was flooded with new, crisp, printed Latin grammars, patristic writings, and English translations of French best-sellers. It was a time, too, of great silence from the whole counsel of God. In order to reconstruct a biblical tradition that would coincide with the traditions of other countries, and

for lack of an English Incunable Bible, one must examine and synthesise a mosaic of almost one hundred publications containing some form of biblical text. If in Latin, the text could be found woven into pastoral writings or into the almost innumerable sacramentaries that dominated early print runs. Considerably fewer, around twenty, were the publications that contained biblical text in English—be it free translation from the Vulgate, paraphrase, or versification. The sum of it all is, at best, a language historian's portrait of the development of the English language as a vehicle of holy concepts. At worst, these composite texts are poor impostors next to the imposing biblical monuments of the fifteenth century.

Needless to say, this period—from Caxton to Tyndale—is much neglected by scholars of the English Bible. There are several reasons for this; some I have already mentioned: the citations are sparse, scattered throughout a large number of publications, and generally textually irrelevant. Also, the period itself is often viewed like that period between the Old and New Testaments. There is so much more to say about the Wyclif rebellion and the English Reformation; the interim is easy to overlook. Because of this, certain misconceptions have developed, particularly concerning the nature of the early press and its products. These issues, nevertheless, become plenary when one looks at this time as a bridge between the two movements. Rather than a period of silence implying a calm before the storm, the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were years of struggle, of an ideological crisis which caused insecurity in the establishment and stirrings in that underground constituency that eventually became the first readers of the printed New Testament in English. The workings of the press must be viewed as part of the horizon, and, fortunately for us, a telling one. A reconsideration of the nature of the English press and its products in the first fifty years is necessary in light of the achievement of the first English New Testament. Tyndale's publication not only reformed the reader but, in fact, reformed the press in England.

John Foxe, in *Acts and Monuments*, quoted the Vicar of Croydon in Surrey when he preached, 'We must root out printing or printing will root out us'.³ At some point in the sixteenth century, the printing press in England became the most powerful tool the reformers wielded, next to the power of the Scriptures themselves. Through the

means of the press, the reading public was theologically educated as well as made aware of the various issues and voices that characterised the newly Protestant nation. Because of this success, it is generally assumed that the printing press always had an ideological purpose—and that was reform. Indeed, I would have to say that ideology was the mother of its invention, but the reformers were not the first to figure this out. At its inception, and solidly throughout its first fifty years, the English press was an effective tool of the Catholic Church. Moreover, it is likely that the Catholic Church was responsible for the early viability of the press, thanks to a very small but financially lucrative and immensely popular product: the indulgence.

Biographers now recognise that the earliest dated item printed by Caxton in England was a twenty-two-line indulgence printed for the Abbot of Abingdon Abbey on a single piece of parchment sometime between May and December 1476.⁴ Unfortunately, what was probably the most frequently printed text in England in the fifteenth century, and in Europe as well—the indulgence—hardly survives today. What does survive is mostly in fragments and often discovered as binder's scraps. And yet the history of the indulgence is fundamental to the history of printing. From the very beginnings in Mainz at Gutenberg's press, records show that two types of products were issued from presses.⁵ One type was whole books, many of which survive today in libraries and museums where we may enjoy and study them. The other product was the 'job' imprint, that is, the printing of documents usually commissioned by a prepaying institution. Broadside posters, pamphlets, and legal documents quickly came to be the business of the printer when the convenience and speed of the press were realised. But the first job imprint to come off the presses was the indulgence. To speed and convenience was added great profitability, which made this small document the international best-seller of the fifteenth century. It is likely that a printer such as Caxton would finance his more expensive publications, like the works of Chaucer or the *Golden Legend*, by securing income through filling orders for indulgences.

When one skims the pages of the Revised Short Title Catalogue, one sees entry after entry of indulgences in any given year. What was an indulgence? It was a document that acknowledged one's debts for sins had been paid; the Pope and bishops granted indulgences for

various causes that needed funds. The documents were then purchased by the penitent (or rather, the penitent were granted the right to give alms). In essence, an indulgence was spiritually negotiable paper, adequate for the remission of the sins of its holder, but valueless after his or her death. In fifteenth-century England, many different indulgences enjoyed popularity.⁶

By the late fifteenth century, needs of the Church could be met by the issue, distribution, and sale of thousands of indulgences. Several were issued to raise money to counter Turkish advances in the Mediterranean or to finance improvements to the Vatican. Some offered dividends such as membership in a given guild or the more spiritual benefit of intercessory prayers after one's death. And the Church quickly became dependent upon the proceeds of these instruments. Paul Needham explains:

The privilege of granting indulgences or pardons was, in the Middle Ages, delegated by the pope and the bishops at various times to hundreds of religious entities. Hospitals and guilds, which stood practically at the bottom of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, were especially dependent on funds raised through this channel. . . . Some portion of alms could be collected casually from poor boxes and the like, but to find substantial donations from outside the immediate neighborhood, a hospital (let us say) would have to offer in return some recognized benefit.⁷

In other words, the granting of indulgences allowed many of the religious entities to stay alive. Thus the documentary evidence for huge numbers of issues of indulgences is easily understood. Two examples: the Benedictine convent of Montserrat in Catalonia commissioned the printing of more than 200,000 indulgences between the years 1498 and 1500. Also in 1500, the Bishop of Cefalú in Sicily commissioned more than 130,000 indulgences from a printer in Messina. Unlike books, which were bound between boards and stored in libraries, the indulgence rarely lasted much longer than its owner's lifetime. Of the two issues I have just mentioned totaling over 330,000 indulgences, only six survive.⁸ In all, however, over 600 printed

indulgences are extant from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, suggesting that millions of these documents were printed in western Europe. We can assume that the numbers in England were proportionately similar.

The second most plentiful type of publication in England in the first fifty years of printing, a more devotional type, was also for the use of the Church. The sacramentaries—that is, liturgies, Latin rites, breviaries, hours, primers, and psalters—are omnipresent in any census of early English publications and, in some years, are the only entries. These were always in Latin.⁹

By meeting steady orders for indulgences and sacramentaries, a printer could then turn his attention to more monumental books. Even amongst these, the orthodox influence was very strong. The Latin writings of the Fathers and other pastoral writers were immensely popular, particularly Hannapus, Traversanus, Bonaventura, Bernard, and Fitzjames. Jerome and Augustine were printed in both Latin and English. If one could read and afford a book, one could be exposed to an advanced canon of Church-approved theology.

But what about the Bible in print at this time? How available were the ancient words of Scripture? The answer to this is simply—sparse. But why this is so is enigmatic—particularly why no Latin Bible was printed in the first fifty years. The Constitutions of Oxford in 1409 were by this time very old laws, and yet the memory of the demise of those who broke them must have been fresh in the minds of the printers, even as late as 1525.¹⁰ Yet, the Constitutions forbade the unauthorised *translation* of Scripture. This brings me back to the original question of this article. Why did England never produce a printed Vulgate Bible? Certainly, the printers had sufficient skill. Was it that the Church feared *any* uncontrolled version of Scripture at large (witness the earlier case of the Lollards, who were able to make their translation from the Latin)? Or did printers shy away from such a publication for fear of having their licences revoked or, in some cases, of being deported? Either scenario suggests an influential Catholic patronage and authority. This hypothesis, derived from the lack of an English Vulgate, is an argument from silence.

Bibliographical findings might provide a clue. Nicholas Watson has suggested that the Oxford Constitutions brought about a tradition

of censorship in England which affected to a great extent the circulation of all religious literature and which contributed to the literary poverty in the fifteenth century. In his 'Censorship and Cultural Change' (see endnote 8), he provides a lengthy list of vernacular theologies composed in the period 1300–1500 for the purpose of contrasting the richness of what he calls the 'early period' with the 'relative poverty of the later one'.¹¹ The list begins with the pre-Wyclif fragments of biblical translation (which were allowed under the Constitutions) and concludes with the first printed books of theology. The evidence of his bibliographical findings argues that the effects of the Constitutions reached well beyond the second half of the fifteenth century. They conceivably continued into the early sixteenth century as well.

A second clue may be derived from printed material that did venture to portray biblical text or subjects. Anne Hudson has remarked that the success of the Reformation after 1530 could in part be credited to the 'growing independence of education from the church'.¹² Any earlier effort for reform was hindered by the educational monopoly enjoyed by the Church. Eventually, as Foxe and many others note, the press widened the field of influence on English readers. But this was hardly the case before the 1520s. The testimony of English theological incunabula is one of a close cooperation between Church and press. Wyclif scholars today, in reference to pre-Lollard English pastoral writing, use the term *mediated* in describing the state of the biblical text before the spread of the Wyclif Bible.¹³ Indeed, the Constitutions themselves took mediation to the legislative level. If Watson's argument is true, I suggest the term be applied to the work of the press, to the presentation of all biblical text in printed books before Tyndale. Before the New Testament of 1525, any Scripture printed in England—be it in English or Latin—was presented (or moderated) by some form of orthodox authority, sometimes by way of a holy persona, other times by way of a respected living cleric or else just an anonymous voice who spoke for the Church. I cite three examples, all taken from English books printed before the Tyndale New Testament. All three items are among the holdings of the Scriptorium: Center for Christian Antiquities.

My first example is a page from Richard Pynson's edition of *Dives and Pauper* of 1493 (VK100, plate 1). Before being printed, this text

The firste precepte

the dethe for his soue. And they also that fede many soules wth brede of goddes worde And first they shal be dāpned þ wole nat proue to poore folke mete & drinke for goddes sake. Moche more shuld they be dāpned that robbe men of ther lyf & synclode. & they that done lecherie/ auoutre/ mīslāughter/ robbery/ and other orrible synnes. And on the same maner whanne cryste specified to that riche man/ the preceptes of the seconde table/ and the seconde precepte of charite/ he sheweth that sychen tho were so necessary to haue the lyf wth outen ende. Moche more the preceptes of the first table and the first precept of charite been necessarie to alle that wole haue the lyf wth outen ende. Oures. Therefore wolde I haue hope theym better thanne I haue done. But I se many doubtes therein þ I can nat hepe theym. Paup. What doute haste thou therein.

The firste chapter.

In the firste commandement as I haue leuyn/ god seith thus. Thou shalt haue noon other strange goddes before me. Thou shalt

make to the no graven thyng/ no mannet/ no synecesse that is in heuyn aboue/ ne that is by nethe in erthe/ ne of any thyng. that is in the water Andre thetþ Thou shalt nat worshyp them wth thy body outest arde/ ne wth thyng bett inward. Exodi. pp. c. Soe by this me thynketh þ god defendeth mahynge of ymages and worshippynge of them/ and yit men do make ymages/ these daies grete plente/ bothe in churche and out of churche And alle men as me thynk worshyp ymages. And it is fulle harte to me but I be in that as al men done And if I worshyp them me thynketh I do ydolatrie apenst god/ des laide. Paup. r. God forbiddeth nat men to make ymages/ for he bad moyses make ymages of ii. aūgels/ that be clepyd cherubyn. in the synecesse of ii. oponge men/ as we fynd Exodi. pp. Bil. c. And salomon made furche and many mo theto i the temple/ to the worshyp of god. the iii. boke of kingis Bil. c. And god bad moyses make his taker nacle & al that longith theto/ as se the example and the synecesse. þ was shewyd to him vpon the hyll/ & hanne he was there wth god xl. daies & xl. nightes. Exodi. pp. B. And therefore god forbiddeth nat bett the mahynge

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enjoyed a wide influence in manuscript form. The authorship has been considered anonymous, although Hudson recently found convincing evidence that it was authored by a Franciscan who also was responsible for a sermon now at Longleat.¹⁴ *Dives and Pauper* is a treatise on holy living, conducted in dialogue form, and structured into ten precepts based upon the ten commandments. Dives, the wealthy layman, questions Pauper, the holy mendicant, on the ways and means of virtuous living. The text is straightforward, divided into three sections—two preliminary sections consisting of a summary of the text in table form and a prologue on Holy Poverty. The body follows with the ten precepts organised into ten chapters.

The appearance of the page is as straightforward as the text. Of the three examples I have chosen, this page most closely resembles the Tyndale New Testament in its bare simplicity. There are no illustrations nor variations in font type or size. This printed work is one of those that followed the manuscript model faithfully, its early date probably the reason for its lack of popular devices.¹⁵

As a text, *Dives and Pauper* is unusually rich in its biblical content for the period. It is remarkable for its over seven hundred biblical quotations. In fact, it has been suggested that the author was a Lollard, but too much of its theological bias reflects a Franciscan tone for this to be so. But for what was available at the time, this is one of the best representatives. And yet, the reader is exposed to the Bible only in the context of having it explained to him—specifically, by Pauper. The first chapter begins with a question from Dives concerning images. What is unusual is that Dives quotes Exodus, saying, 'In the first comaundement as I have lernyd, god sayth thus'. He then quotes a free translation of Exodus 20 from the Vulgate.¹⁶ Is this evidence of a certain level of scriptural knowledge on the part of the educated laity? If so, it would have come to them precisely the way Dives describes—by having been taught it. Pauper, as mediator, continues the lesson by interpreting Scripture with Scripture—Exodus 37, 25, and 3 Kings 7. Ultimately, the sum of it all is an argument in support of the Church's use of images.

Plates 2 and 3 are photographs of two leaves from *Fisher's Sermons on the Penitential Psalms* (VK116). John Fisher, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, was executed when he, like Thomas More, opposed the

lord than thou shalt accepte our sacrifice of right wyl-
 nes / at that tyme our oblacions a sacrifices shall be plea-
 saunt vnto the / for why they shall be cleane and pure with-
 out spotte of synne. Than shall all thy welbeloued peo-
 ple make acceptable sacrifice not of fleshely or golden
 calves as was in the olde law but of euerclastyng pray-
 synges and laudes / as the prophete Osee remembereth /
 We shall without ende geue thankynges immortall be-
 to the in eternall glorie / where vnto thou byngest by
 the merities of thy sone Ihesu cryste that suffered pyn for
 for all synners vpon a crosse. Amen.



As moche as this psalme is longer then the myn-
 at this season conveniently alleys or expounde.
 Therefore we shall this daye beare to pon our parte of
 it & deliuer the other vnto some other next compage. This
 parte that we shall expounde this daye is deuised in
 three. Firste the prophete maketh his pettyon and besy-
 eth himselfe to be herde of almyghty god. Secondly he
 sheweth openly his owne wretchednes. And lastly he re-
 membereth hymselfe what he may doo and howe moche
 to obteyne mercy & grace / Whiche the members I meane
 as in the persone of vs all shall create and speke of. And ye
 shall diligently geue audience & here it to mynde.

fyre and also quencheth the hete of fleshely bolupty and
 luste. Therefore it is very necessarye to the penytent. For
 ofte tymes Whan We remembre our olde synnes a sparke
 kyndelet of the ashes that is to saye We haue a delecta-
 cyon in them Whiche hete of delectacyon must be quen-
 ched With the drynke of Weppynge teres. The true peny-
 tent may saye þ foloweth. **Q**uia cinerē tanq̃ pa-
 nē māducabā et potū meū cū fletu miscebā.
 I haue eten ashes as my brede. I haue consumed my syn-
 nes by true penaunce and I haue myxed my drynke With
 Weppynge teres. I haue despyled this Worlde to the entent
 I may haue here after the kyngdome of heuen. Amonge
 all other wo thynges there be Whiche may moue the syn-
 ner and not Without a cause to vse this brede and drynke.
 no W rehered. One is the indygnacyon of almyghty god
 the other is the gretenes of his fall by synne. What crea-
 ture can be but forowful and ferde Whan he consydereth
 and remembreth the dyedefull maicste of god ho W mo-
 che he hateth synners ho W greuously he beholdeth þ syn-
 ner With his Jrefull costenaunce euer redy to stryke With
 the swerde of his punishment / Whose stroke causeth
 eternall deth / a Wounde vnable to be cured. And no thyn-
 ge elles in the Worlde may swage or mytygate that fore
 stroke of euerlastynge deth or punishment / but penaunce
 done With forow and Weppynge for our offences. Saynt
 Augustyne the Weth the cause of his conuersion Was
 the consyderacyon & remembraunce of the euerlastynge pu-
 nishment of god. Saynt Iherom also wytnelleth hym
 self þ he chastyled his body in Wyldernes With fastynge
 Weppynge / a bytter mournynge for fere of the euerlastynge
 paynes of hell. The true penytent Wayleth and Wepeth
 for fere of his indygnacyon & punishment of almyghty

pp .ii.



divorce of King Henry VIII. His sermons were his legacy and his voice often joined More's in the debate against the Lutheran heresy. In 1508, Fisher's *Sermons on the Seven Penitential Psalms* was first printed and saw four editions by 1525. It is a verse-by-verse exposition of the psalms of David's repentance, with Fisher's text serving the role of explanation and expansion. In the prologue, Fisher states the purpose of scriptural reading: 'to receive and take the study and learning of virtues'.

While a step closer to biblical content than its predecessors, in its presentation and format it maintains the distance between the reader and the biblical text. Each psalm (or partial psalm) begins with an introduction. In the example on the right, the psalm begins with an explanation and a prayer. The words of David follow in larger black-letter type—in Latin. The English translation succeeds the Vulgate text in the smaller type and it runs unnoticeably into Fisher's text. Occasional cross-references are made to New Testament passages. Note, on the left example, the invocation of Augustine and Jerome. While somewhat progressive in its expositional nature, *Fisher's Sermons* do little more than provide the early sixteenth-century reader with a modernised devotional gloss in English to selected portions of the Vulgate text (the Psalms is a common text in printed sacramentaries).



A third example comes from a reprint by Wynkyn de Worde of a 1510 Caxton publication, *The Floure of the Commaundements* (VK118, plate 4). This particular edition was issued in 1521, just four years before Tyndale's New Testament. Typical of de Worde's work, it is full of lovely and lively English woodcuts. An anonymous work, it is an encyclopædia of instruction on righteousness and the Christian life. It must have appealed to sixteenth-century readers as a cross between *The Golden Legend* and *de Proprietatibus Rerum*—full of lives of saints and the not-so-saintly sermons about everything from proper sexual relationships to the art of dying well, biblical and contemporary exempla—all ordered somewhat neatly into units of ten: ten chapters on the ten commandments, ten exemplars, and ten treatises on various subjects.

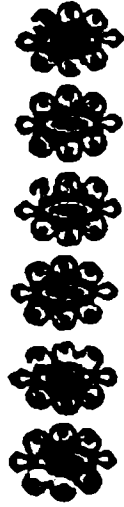



Much like Caxton's *Golden Legend*, the biblical text is subjugated to the overall structure, cited in support of a concept, and often placed in between two stories of contemporary nature. The translations are

Abelus.

The floure of the commaundementes of god with many exam-
ples and auctoritees extracte and drawe as well of holy scriptures
as other doctours and good auncyente faders / the whiche is moche
hyle and profytable vnto all people.  

The x. commaundementes of the lawe.

	<p>Thou shalt worshyp one god onely. And loue hym with thy herte perfectly God in vayne swere not wylfully Ne by nothyng that he made verely The sonday kepe and halowe hoily Heryng gods ierupte on them deuoutly Fader and moder honour thou to thy And in theyr nede helpe them gladly Sle thou no man malyciously Nor to his deche consent wylfully Thou ne shalt committe lchery But with thy wyfe in wedlocke onely Thy neryghbours goodes stele not falsly. Nor nothyng withholde vntrustly Fals wytnesse bere thou not lightly Nor fals recorde for none cruy Other mennes wyues take not felishly Ne other women to knowe carnally Other mennes goodes couerpe not lightly Nor holde from them vntreghthly</p>	
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		<p>The fyve commaundementes of the church.</p> <p>The firste is that thou shalt not be withouten sacramentes. Of the second is that thou shalt not be withouten the sacrament of the body and blood of the lord. And the third is that thou shalt not be withouten the sacrament of the church. The fourth is that thou shalt not be withouten the sacrament of the church. The fifth is that thou shalt not be withouten the sacrament of the church.</p>		
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loose at best, with most biblical content comprising Old Testament stories and characters.

The title page illustrates the notion of textual mediation most succinctly. Notice that the thesis statement equates the examples and authorities of 'other doctors and good ancient fathers' with the 'holy scriptures'. This is exemplified in the presentation of the ten commandments in the centre of the page, immediately followed by the five commandments of the Church. Men in ecclesiastical array flank both texts—above presumably representing the Old and New Testament writers with Peter in papal attire, below a scene of Holy Church receiving her subjects. Most important, however, is the text itself. This Early Modern English versification appears almost quaint and lacks the sober character of the Law as expressed in the biblical account.

My final plate (5) is a reproduction of the first page of the Gospel of John from the British Library's (formerly Bristol's) 1525 New Testament, translated by Tyndale, printed in Worms, and smuggled into England.¹⁷ For the first time, English readers, whose eyes had grown accustomed to the elaborate packaging and buffering of biblical topics, were faced with the naked text. No voice spoke except the Word on the page. No commentary blended with the pure biblical narrative. The implications of it were immense—English readers were both complimented and challenged by the simplicity of the Bible in English and the profundity of English upon the pages of the Bible. From this point on, the spiritual and political life of England would never be the same. Nor would be the nature of the press. This small octavo contraband book would forever change the expectation and demand of the reader. The signature of reform was one of individualism—to read and interpret Scripture for one's self and to reconcile one's self to God without mediation. The unedited page of Scripture signaled the end of the Orthodox control of the press and the beginning of the intellectual, political, and spiritual rise of the reader. Indulgences and sacramentaries continued to be printed for some time, but the momentum had changed. The golden age of printing in England eventually coincided with the Great Reformation because of a national passion for the newly emancipated Bible and literature pertaining to it. Tyndale's New Testament filled a fifty-year

The Gospell off

Sancte Ihon.

The fyrst Chapter.



In the begynnynge was that worde/ ad that worde was with god: and god was thatt worde. The same was in the begynnynge wyth god. All thyngs weremade by it/ and with out it/ was made noo thige/ that made was. In it was lyfe/ And lyfe was the light of mē/ And the light shyneth i darclnes/ ad darclnes cōprehēded it not.

There was a mā sent from god/ whose name was Ihon. The same cā as a witnes/ to beare witnes of the light/ that all men througħ hlymght beleve. He was nott that light: but to beare witnes of the light. That was a true light/ which lighteneth all men that come into the worlde. He was in the worlde/ ad the worlde by hi was made: and the worlde knewe hym not.

He cā into his awne/ ad his receaved hī not. vnto as meny as receaved hī/ gave he power to be the sōnes of god: i that they beleved i his name: which were borne not of bloude nor of the will of the fleshe/ nor yet of the will of men: but of god.

And that worde was made fleshe/ and dwelt amonge vs/ and we sawe the glory off yt/ as the glory off the only begotten sonne off the father/

gap, provided England with her first biblical monument in print, and succeeded in reforming not only the English reader, but also the English press.

Notes

1. I am indebted to Richard Marsden for commenting on drafts of this article.

2. In regards to the state of the text of the Vulgate during this time, see Paul Needham's contribution to the *The Bible As Book: The First Printed Editions*, to be published by the British Library in 1998.

3. *Acts and Monuments*, ed. S. R. Cattley and C. Townsend, 8 vols (London, 1837–1841; reprinted AMS Press, 1965), p. 927.

4. A resetting and reprinting of Caxton's 1476 Indulgence was done in 1995 by the Alembic Press, Marcham. Introductory text is provided by Claire Bolton and Carolyn Blackmore. For further reading on Caxton's indulgences, see Paul Needham's *The Printer and the Pardoner* (The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 1986). A resourceful survey of the early use of indulgences is Wolfgang Schmitz's *Die Kölner Einblattdrucke des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1979).

5. For a discussion of early job printing, see Gottfried Zedler, *Die Mainzer Ablassbriefe der Jahre 1454 und 1455* (Mainz, 1913).

6. The majority of English indulgences is listed in the *Short Title Catalogue*, although more have been discovered since the publication of vol. 2.

7. Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner*, p. 39.

8. Records found in J. Rubio, 'Bulles incunables de Montserrat', in *Analecta Montserratensia* 4 (1921), pp. 263–77, and G. di Marzo, 'Di Olivino e Lorenzo di Bruges, stampatori in Sicilia', in *Archivio storico Siciliano*, 4 (1879), pp. 337–42.

9. The printed texts of these tools of the mass and office do not seem to vary from their medieval exemplars. Andrew Hughes's *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1995) is the best reference for an overview of these instruments. Indulgences are not addressed in this work.

10. A concise rendering of the Constitutions of 1409, sometimes called Arundel's Constitutions, may be read in Nicholas Watson's 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum* 70 (1995), pp. 822–64. Watson summarises their contents as far reaching, so as to 'impose limits on the discussion of theological questions in the schools, provide for a monthly inquiry (no less) into the views of every student at the

university, and forbid the study not simply of Wyclif's books but of all recent texts that have not been approved unanimously by a panel of twelve theologians appointed by the archbishop (articles 6, 9–11)' (p. 827). Further articles legislate the teaching of religious topics in grammar schools, the topics of sermons in churches, and even the discussion of theological matters outside universities (articles 1–5, 8). Any study of readership in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries should begin with the dictates of the Oxford Constitutions.

11. See Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 859–64.

12. Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), p. 512.

13. See the work of Christina von Nolcken, particularly 'Another Kind of Saint: A Lollard Perception of John Wyclif', *SCH Subsidia* 5 (1987), pp. 397–417; also *idem*, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum* 70 (1995), pp. 822–64.

14. Anne Hudson and H. L. Spencer, 'Old Author, New Work: The Sermons of MS Longleat 4', *Medium ævum* 53 (1984), pp. 219–38.

15. Margery M. Morgan, 'Pynson's Manuscript of *Dives and Pauper*', *Library*, 5th ser., 8, 4 (December 1953), pp. 217–28.

16. Note the translator's choice of the Middle English word *mawmet* for idol. This is a derivative of the French word for Muhammet—an association that postdates the text as well as its translation into Latin—and illustrative of the looseness of the free translations of the period.

17. For this publication, I have had a page of F. Frye's facsimile of 1876 reproduced (VK113).

Tyndale's 'Heretical' Translation

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William Tyndale's success as a translator of the Bible can be attributed to two qualities, which equipped him superbly for the task: on the one hand, his knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, and on the other, his brilliant mastery of the English language. But in addition to these two essential gifts, two external factors were equally important in making his translation significant: first, the recent production of Erasmus's editions of the Greek New Testament, and, second, the invention of the printing press.

There had, of course, been other translations into English before Tyndale's, but they had not been from the Greek and they had not been printed. It was the fortunate conjunction of the means of mass communication and Erasmus's learning with Tyndale's genius that gave the latter's work its unique significance.

Of the printing press, I need say no more. But of Desiderius Erasmus, we ought to take note. Erasmus was not the only scholar, of course, to have brought the love of the new learning and the knowledge of Greek to England. The influence of John Colet and others at Oxford must still have been felt there when Tyndale was a student, even though Tyndale is scathing about *theology* in that university. Whether in Oxford or in Cambridge, he learned Greek. And though, if he did spend some time in Cambridge, he was too late to sit at the feet of Erasmus; nevertheless that university was buzzing with new ideas. But the crucial event was the publication of Erasmus's edition of the New Testament, first in 1516 and then in its revised versions of 1519 and 1522, which were the ones Tyndale used. What makes Tyndale's translation of the New Testament so important is that it was made from the Greek, not from the Latin Vulgate; and when he turned to the Old Testament, he learned Hebrew in order to translate that, too, from the original.

By modern standards, Erasmus's edition of the New Testament was not, in fact, a very good one, since it was based on only six or seven

very late manuscripts, most of which dated from the twelfth century. These manuscripts happened to be the only ones available to Erasmus in Basle, where he prepared the text. Unfortunately the manuscripts he used were not only late but very poor, full of mistakes and corrections, and at least one had a page missing, so that he had to re-create the Greek text on the basis of the Vulgate translation. In a letter written in April 1515, his publisher, anxious to produce a printed edition of the Greek text ahead of his rivals, pressed Erasmus for the copy: market forces apparently influenced the development of scholarship even then! The book shows signs of haste, for the first edition of 1516 contains many typographical misprints, most of which were corrected in the 1519 edition. Whether he might have consulted other, better manuscripts if he had had more time is not clear; certainly he used one extra manuscript in 1519. But Erasmus was not, in fact, attempting to produce a critical edition of the New Testament. It was not until centuries later that scholars realised the complexity of the problems involved in collating manuscripts and started to compare the differences seriously. Erasmus's main purpose was quite different; it was to publish his extensive annotations on the Vulgate, together with his own new Latin translation; the Greek text was included in further justification of his translation.

Nevertheless, Erasmus's work made the Greek text available, and so opened up the way to the next stage, translation into the vernacular from the Greek: his was the text used by Luther and by Tyndale. And it was this Greek text that became the *Textus Receptus*, the received text, until the end of the eighteenth century—in England, indeed, until the nineteenth. Inferior though Erasmus's text may have been by comparison with our modern critical editions, which are based on earlier manuscripts not available to Erasmus, its importance lay in the fact that it was in Greek.

Tyndale owed much to Erasmus. If the tradition that Tyndale spent some time in Cambridge is true, then it may well have been the work of Erasmus that led him to study in that university, where Erasmus's reputation still lingered. Perhaps it was the work of Erasmus that inspired Tyndale to learn Greek. We do know that he translated at least one of Erasmus's books,¹ and there is some evidence to suggest that it was Erasmus who taught him to regard translation of the

Scriptures into the vernacular as important, since Tyndale's famous words about the ploughboy knowing Scripture echo the preface to Erasmus's 1516 Greek New Testament. Above all, the fact that Tyndale translated the New Testament from the Greek (though with an eye on Erasmus's Latin translation, the Vulgate, and Luther's translation into German) was what made his translation so significant. If he had based his translation on the Latin, then however skilled he was in understanding Latin or in writing felicitous English, his translation would not have played the role it did in the history of subsequent English versions.

It is precisely the fact that Tyndale translated from the Greek, however, that helps to explain why his translation came to be regarded as heretical. To be sure, his teaching appeared to many to be tainted with Lutheranism—a suspicion apparently confirmed by the fact he had left England for Germany. But the objections to his *translation*—certainly those Sir Thomas More raises—are based on differences in meaning between certain Greek words and the Latin terms with which they had been translated in the Vulgate. It is ironic that in later times there was apparently a rumour that Tyndale was an indifferent Greek scholar and that he knew no Hebrew. Bishop Herbert Marsh, one of the more notable holders of the Lady Margaret's chair in Cambridge—a position once held by Erasmus himself—is said to have argued in his Theological Lectures that Tyndale knew only German and Latin, and to have proved, to his own satisfaction, that Tyndale's version of the New Testament was taken from that of Luther.² I find this quite extraordinary: it is clear, on the contrary, that if Tyndale had not known Greek, he would not have translated certain terms in the way he did and would not have found himself in conflict with Sir Thomas More.

That More was his great opponent in the matter of his translation is in some ways surprising. For More himself was a friend of Erasmus and was influenced by him. More certainly knew Greek and occasionally argued from it. He welcomed the publication of Erasmus's New Testament.³ Indeed, in his letters he several times argued at length with those who opposed the work of Erasmus, maintaining that it is proper to correct the Latin from the Greek.⁴ More even favoured (though in a half-hearted way) the translation of the text of the Bible into the vernacular. But he was definitely *not* in favour of an unauthorised translation

by someone whom he regarded as a heretic. Nor was he in favour of copies in the vernacular being widely disseminated: the bishop, he suggested, should control who was allowed to read which portions of Scripture. The reason, of course, was that for More, the Catholic Church was the only infallible source of divinely revealed truth: the Scriptures had been determined by the Church and must be interpreted by the Church. The Church could not err, but an individual interpreter of the Scriptures might well err. The fact that Tyndale's views were already suspect, that he had not been authorised to undertake the work of translation, and that he was working in Germany (the source of errors) and was therefore identified with Martin Luther (More speaks of Luther as Tyndale's 'master'), meant that this particular translation was condemned in More's eyes from the very beginning.

I say that More had welcomed the publication of Erasmus's New Testament. But did he *use* it? And more specifically, did he use Erasmus's *Greek* text? That is a question I am not competent to answer, but I quote from an essay by Richard Marius on More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* to his *Dialogue*:⁵

Interestingly enough, More almost never appears to use the vast biblical scholarship of Erasmus. In a comment on 1 Cor. 6:9 he mentions 'the newe tranlacyon' of the scripture, which must be the Latin version Erasmus prepared to go along with his Greek text (684–85). Elsewhere he calls on a note from Erasmus to prove that Tyndale errs by translating the Greek word πρεσβύτερος into English as simply 'senior' or elder (184–85). Otherwise More does not appear to use Erasmus at all in the *Confutation*, and there are occasions when he employs usages quite contrary to the suggestions of his famous friend.

In spite of his defence of Erasmus's work, therefore, More appears in practice to have continued to work from the Vulgate and to regard it as the correct text. The Vulgate was still the text authorised by the Church, with whom the supreme authority lay, and any other version must be judged by it.

There were, then, basically two differences between More and Tyndale: first, the presuppositions from which each started were very

different—the one began from the traditional Catholic position, the other from that of the reformers; second, one was arguing on the basis of the text of the Vulgate, the other on the basis of the Greek text of Erasmus.

More's condemnation of Tyndale's ability as a translator was sweeping. Tyndale's New Testament was not the New Testament at all, but a cunning counterfeit, so perverted in the interests of heresy that it ought not to be called Christ's testament, but either Tyndale's own testament or the testament of Luther. It contained a thousand wrong and falsely translated texts, so that to search for errors in it was like searching for water in the sea. The faults were so many and so spread through the whole book that it would be as easy to translate it all again as to make the necessary corrections, just as it is easier to weave a new web of cloth as to sew up every hole in a net.⁶

This is an astonishing attack and is explained only when we remember that More's touchstone would have been: does this translation faithfully represent the meaning of the *Vulgate*? When we look at the details of his complaints about Tyndale's shortcomings, the main examples More gave to substantiate his accusations were that Tyndale had mistranslated three key terms. Instead of translating the Greek ἐκκλησία as 'church', Tyndale had used 'congregation'; instead of 'priest', he had used 'senior' or 'elder'; and instead of 'charity', 'love'. Behind all these changes, More saw, and condemned, the influence of Luther. The terms Tyndale used, More protested, did not express in the English tongue the things that were meant by them, and thus he concluded that Tyndale had a 'mischievous mind' in changing them.

The word which Tyndale translated as 'senior' or 'elder' (though in the 1534 edition he wisely decided to use 'elder') is in Greek πρεσβύτερος. The basic meaning of the term is 'an older person', as More himself recognised. In the New Testament, however, it is most commonly used in one of two special senses: first, of the elders in the Jewish Sanhedrin and, second, of people exercising some kind of authority within the Christian community: what exactly they did is not clear, though they probably took decisions and exercised discipline over the community. The word πρεσβύτερος is never used of the Jewish *priests*, and these priests have no equivalent in the New Testament. More protested that 'senior' and 'elder' were bad translations

into English, because not all old men were priests and not all priests were old; that, of course, was true, but underlying his objection is the assumption that the word *πρεσβύτερος* refers to a priest, whose function was to offer the sacrifice of the mass, whereas underlying Tyndale's translation is the recognition that in the New Testament a *πρεσβύτερος* was not a priest in that sense. From the vantage point of the twentieth century, one has to agree with More that 'senior' is an inappropriate term: there was more to being a *πρεσβύτερος* than simply being a senior citizen. And maybe in the sixteenth century, the term 'elder' had a similar meaning and had no special nuance: is its 'special' sense something that has been acquired as a result of its use by Tyndale? I do not know the answer to that question. What is certain is that Tyndale was right to reject the term 'priest' here: the word *πρεσβύτερος* did not mean what More understood by the word 'priest'.

On philological grounds one must also uphold Tyndale regarding his translation of *ἐκκλησία* as 'congregation'. The term *ἐκκλησία* means, literally, the company of those who have been called out. When Paul wrote to the *ἐκκλησία* in Corinth, he was not writing to an institution, to a building, or to the clergy, but to a company of people united in their common faith in Christ. More's objection to the term is understandable: to him, the Church meant the institution established by Christ and entrusted with authority and doctrine, the infallible source of divinely revealed truth. By using 'congregation' rather than 'church', Tyndale appeared to be denying the authority of the Catholic Church.

Tyndale's use of 'love' instead of 'charity' is interesting. His rendering of 1 Corinthians 13 seems much more up-to-date than the translation found in the Authorised Version. More attacks Tyndale on the grounds that 'charity' has a more particular meaning than 'love' and that the word 'love' does not convey the proper sense of the word *ἀγάπη* to the English mind. In the twentieth century, when the meaning of 'love' has been debased, one has a certain sympathy with More's objection to it. But, of course, the word 'charity' is today totally unsuitable as a rendering for the Greek *ἀγάπη*. And it was the narrower meaning of the word 'charity', with its implication of good works, that commended it to More. To what extent this was

the dominant meaning of the word in the sixteenth century I am not clear: it is often said that the word 'charity' has changed its meaning since the time of the Authorised Version, but clearly it must even then have been more than a simple synonym for love, or More would not have advocated it. This comes out in the *Dialogue*. He writes:

The cause why [Tyndale] changes the name of *charity*, and of the *church*, and of *priesthood*, is no very great difficulty to perceive. For since Luther and his fellows among their other damnable heresies have one that all our salvation standeth in faith alone, and toward our salvation nothing force of good works, therefore it seemeth that he laboureth of purpose to minish the reverent mind that men bear to charity, and therefore changeth the name of holy virtuous affection into the bare name of love.⁷

The real debate, then, was not between the alternative translations of 'love' and 'charity', but between the principles of faith and good works. The translation 'love' was, in More's eyes, a deliberate attempt by Tyndale to exclude the notion of good works and so leave room for the principle of salvation *sola fide*. In support, More appealed to 1 Corinthians 13 itself: 'if a man have so great faith that he might by the force of his faith work miracles, and also such fervent affection to the faith that he would give his body to the fire for the defence thereof, yet if he lacked charity, all his faith sufficed not'.⁸

More mentioned a few other terms Tyndale had 'mischievously' changed, though without considering them in detail: they are 'penance' changed to 'repentance', a word that much more accurately translates the Greek original;⁹ 'confession' changed to 'knowledge'; 'contrite heart' to 'troubled heart'; 'grace' to 'favour'.¹⁰ The underlying reason for his objections was the same in each case: the words Tyndale preferred supported Reformation principles, and the words More advocated reflected the theology of the Catholic Church. The use of 'favour' rather than 'grace' perhaps needs explanation. In fact, Tyndale used 'grace' more often than 'favour' in the first edition of his New Testament, and in the 1534 he adopted 'grace' almost uniformly. The argument between Tyndale and More seems to have been that

each word could convey somewhat misleading ideas: this is hardly surprising since it is rare to find a term that is an exact equivalent of a word in another language. In fact, 'grace' is a better term to use, and Tyndale recognised this. If he was hesitant about the word in his first edition, this was possibly because he was deliberately avoiding a word that had particular resonances in Catholic usage.

The underlying doctrinal differences emerged also in the discussion regarding the translation of Ephesians 5:32. More, relying on the Latin text, which reads *sacramentum*, and interpreting it in the light of the Catholic doctrine that there are seven sacraments, understood Paul to be saying that marriage is a great sacrament;¹¹ he regarded Tyndale's translation of the verse, 'this is a great secret', as a perverse attack upon that doctrine. In fact, Tyndale's words are an accurate translation of the Greek and agree also with Erasmus's Latin and Luther's German translations, though I think the Revised English Bible gets the sense better with the paraphrase 'There is hidden here a great truth'.

More complained that Tyndale was in collusion with Luther—a charge Tyndale himself denied. But to what extent was Tyndale's New Testament influenced by Luther? There are some obvious signs of influence: the unusual order of the books of the New Testament, with Hebrews and James following the Catholic epistles, reflects the order of Luther, who had placed Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation at the end, as a kind of postscript, on the grounds that they were written by non-apostolic authors. Like Luther, Tyndale numbered only the first twenty-three books and listed the last four books without numbers. Tyndale was, however, more positive than Luther towards these four. If Hebrews, James, and Jude come last of the epistles, this is perhaps because there had been, as he notes, great debate about them: nevertheless, Tyndale affirmed that they should be given the authority of Scripture. Revelation comes last and has no prologue to introduce it or explain its standing.

The 1534 edition added prologues to the books and marginal notes and glosses to the text. In his prologues to the books Tyndale frequently followed Luther, often simply translating Luther's prologues, though occasionally making comments of his own. The marginal notes and glosses also show Luther's influence. One note I find of

particular interest. It occurs at 1 Corinthians 11, an especially difficult verse, in which Paul is discussing the conduct proper to women taking part in worship. When a woman is praying or prophesying, he says—that is, taking a leading part in worship—she should have, or exercise, ἐξουσία, power or authority, on or over her head, because of the angels; the verse has long been a puzzle to commentators and is still the centre of hot debate. Paul was anxious that the women's behaviour should not bring scandal on the Church, but was he afraid that the women of Corinth might appear in public with bare heads or with unkempt hair? Was he referring to some kind of head-covering, which he understood as symbolising the woman's authority to take part in worship?¹² Or was he arguing that a woman must not let her hair flow loose, as so often happened in pagan worship at the time, but should exercise authority over it—that is, keep it under control?¹³ Whatever he meant, his words were for centuries misinterpreted as meaning that a woman must wear some kind of head-covering as a sign that she was *under* authority. The fault, I had thought, lay with the translators of the 1611 Authorised Version, who rendered the text itself by 'For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head', but added a marginal note to the effect that the word 'power' refers to 'a covering, in sign that she is under the power of her husband'. This is in fact diametrically opposed to what Paul writes: he says nothing about husbands and nothing about a woman being under anyone's authority: he speaks only about her *exercising* authority. Never was there a clearer example of presuppositions exercising exegesis! The fault, however, does not lie with the 1611 translators: their note is clearly based on a marginal note in Tyndale, which runs 'Power is as much to say as a sign that the woman is in subjection, and hath an head over her'. But Tyndale was not the originator of the idea, for he, in turn, had taken the substance of the note from Luther.

But to what extent is the translation itself influenced by Luther? This is much more difficult to assess. We know that Tyndale kept an eye on Luther's translation and would therefore have been guided to some extent by him, but it is not always easy to say where the English owes a direct debt to the German. There are, however, one or two examples of English words that seem to owe a great deal to Luther's German. One of the most interesting is in Romans 3:25. Here we meet

the unusual Greek word ἱλαστήριον. In the Vulgate, this is translated as *propitiatio*, a word that came into the Authorised Version as 'propitiation'. This translation has come under fire from many commentators, who argue that 'propitiation' suggests the idea of propitiating the wrath of an angry God, an idea that is not appropriate here, where Paul is describing what God himself did to put things right. So the Revised Standard Version substituted the word 'expiation', which has the sense of wiping away or removing sin. The Latin *propitiatio* can apparently have either meaning. But these are not the only possible meanings for the Greek ἱλαστήριον. In the LXX, the cognate Greek verb is used to translate a Hebrew word meaning 'to make atonement for', or 'to make expiation', that is, to deal with sin. The word ἱλαστήριον itself is used to translate a noun referring to a 'cover' set over the ark of the covenant, known as the mercy seat. This is why we find Tyndale translating the passage as follows: 'all . . . are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath made a seat of mercy through faith in his blood'. In this, he was clearly influenced by Luther, who translated the word as *Gnadenstuel*. No other mainstream English version has followed Tyndale here, though in Hebrews 9:5, where the same word is used and where Tyndale used a slightly different phrase, 'a seat of grace', the Authorised Version and subsequent versions did use 'mercy seat'; The New English Bible and Revised English Bible chose 'place of expiation', which has the same meaning, but is more prosaic. The translation of Romans 3:25 by Luther and Tyndale is particularly interesting because recent commentators on Romans have favoured the view that Paul is in fact thinking here of the sacrifice which took place on the Day of Atonement and that he is here describing Christ not simply as the sacrifice, but as the mercy seat, or place of reconciliation. Whereas in Hebrews Christ is depicted as both high priest and sacrificial victim, in Romans 3 he is seen as both the victim and the *place* where the sacrificial blood is sprinkled.

Another passage that shows the clear influence of Luther is Mark 14; here, the Greek refers to the Feast of Passover and the sacrifice of the Passover lamb: Erasmus's Latin version simply transliterates this as *Pascha*. But both Luther and Tyndale refer, somewhat quaintly, to Easter and the Easter lamb.

Tyndale, we are told, used both the 1519 and the 1522 editions of Erasmus's text. Whether he switched from one to the other, and if so, at what point, I have not been able to discover. There is, however, a famous indication that he was relying on the 1522 edition in translating 1 John, and it seems likely that he consulted, even if he were not using, the 1519 edition in translating James. In 1 John 5, Tyndale included the explanatory gloss in v. 7: 'For there are three which bear record in heaven, the father, the word and the holy ghost. And these three are one'. These are the words Erasmus rashly said he would include in his text if a Greek manuscript were found that contained them. Unfortunately, one such manuscript was conveniently discovered, and he therefore added them to the text of the 1522 edition. We therefore know that at this point Tyndale was using that edition.

The passage in James 4:2 is more complex. In 1519, Erasmus's Greek text runs φθονεῖτε, meaning 'you are jealous', a reading which appears to have been a conjecture on his part; the Latin translation is *invidetis*. In the 1522 edition, Erasmus changed φθονεῖτε to φονεύετε, meaning 'you kill', but, remarkably, kept the same Latin, *invidetis*! Tyndale translated 'ye envy'; either he consulted Erasmus's 1519 text at this point or, if he had the 1522 edition before him, he must have followed the Latin or been influenced by Luther's translation, which runs '*ihr hasset und neidet*'.

What kind of changes did Tyndale make to his translation in preparing his 1534 edition? The vast number (and the number was vast) seem to have been improvements in English idiom: the style is more vigorous, the phrases more memorable. Tyndale's uncanny ability to find just the right word or phrase is even more obvious in 1534 than in 1526. Having myself spent many years involved in the preparation of the Revised English Bible, my admiration for him is profound: we would sometimes sit for an hour or more, struggling to find a word or expression in English that would convey the precise meaning of the Greek and that would do so without sounding either too banal or too donnish. Occasionally, when we felt we had succeeded, we would think that the words we had come up with had a familiar ring and would discover that in fact they were those used in the Authorised Version; I suspect that had we looked further, we should have found that they were also the words of Tyndale.

Tyndale himself attributed some of his changes to the fact that since preparing the earlier edition he had learned Hebrew in order to translate the Old Testament. Underlying much of the Greek of the New Testament is the idiom of Aramaic, and Tyndale's knowledge of Hebrew helped him appreciate some of the nuances of the Greek. I confess, however, I have found it difficult to discover precise examples of changes in the translation that can be attributed to this new knowledge, apart, perhaps, from a few changes in tenses. Tyndale himself writes: 'Consider the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech left in the Greek words, whose preterperfect tense and present tense is oft both one, and the future tense is the optative mode also, and the future tense is oft the imperative mode in the active voice, and in the passive ever'.¹⁴ In his 1534 edition, Tyndale also attempted to secure a closer accord with the Greek and to iron out some inconsistencies. We have already noted how 'senior' gave way to 'elder', and 'favour' to 'grace'.

Occasionally one finds a change of more significance. In 2 Corinthians 11:31 (which appears as the beginning of chapter 12 in Tyndale's text), the 1524 rendering 'God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ' is corrected to 'The God *and* father of our Lord Jesus Christ' in 1534. In Ephesians 2:6, 'with him hath raised us up, and with him has made us sit in heavenly things' has been changed to 'hath raised us up together and made us sit together in heavenly things through Jesus Christ'. This, alas, is *not* an improvement, for it loses the sense that believers have been raised and exalted to heaven *with* Christ, an idea conveyed in the Greek by the use of verbs compounded with the preposition σὺν-, with. In Philippians 2:13, 'even so performe your own health' became the more familiar 'work out your own salvation', in accordance with a general change from 'health' to 'salvation'. Incidentally, this translation (and the similar one in Luther) is interesting as indicating that the reformers were not totally opposed to the idea that Christians needed to 'work out their own salvation'. In Hebrews 2:6, the second line of the quotation from Psalm 110, 'Or the son of man, that thou carest for him?' is missing from 1534, but this is clearly an error. In Hebrews 2:9, 'through the punishment of death' in 1526 has properly given way to 'for the suffering of death' in 1534.

In his 1534 preface, Tyndale attacked George Joye for publishing his own 'revision' of the 1526 text. Joye had 'corrected' Tyndale's

translation against the Vulgate text—a backwards step in itself—but his chief crime was to have changed the translation of the Greek ἀνίστασις from 'resurrection' to 'life after this life' or some such equivalent. There is a certain irony in this quarrel, for Tyndale's objections to Joye mirror More's attacks on himself: Joye was introducing a translation that implied a theology Tyndale rejected, a theology that denied the resurrection of the body.

Finally, let us look at some examples of Tyndale's translation that throw interesting light on modern problems.

First, Galatians 1:16, which is normally translated '[When God] was pleased to reveal his Son to me'; translators of course have in mind the vision on the Damascus road. The Greek, however, runs '[God] was pleased to reveal his Son *in* me', and I have long maintained that this is how it should be translated: Paul thinks of his apostolic ministry in terms of a union with Christ, who speaks and acts in and through him. I find now that Tyndale seems to have agreed, though he preferred the English preposition 'by' to 'in': he translated the passage 'When it pleased God . . . to declare his son by me'.

In Romans 16:1, Tyndale properly describes Phoebe as a minister of the congregation at Cenchrea, and not, as became common in subsequent translations, as a deaconess: the Greek term is the normal one for a minister or deacon, διάκονος. A few verses later, we find him referring to Andronicus and Junia, who 'are well taken among the apostles'. Tyndale's wording is ambiguous, but so is the underlying Greek, which is commonly translated by later versions as 'they are of note among the apostles'; because the translators assumed that all apostles were men, however, they turned Junia into a man and added the superfluous word 'men' to the text! Thus the Revised Standard Version reads 'Andronicus and Junias . . . are men of note among the apostles'. I am glad to say that the Revised English Bible and New Revised Standard Version have both restored Junia to the ranks of the apostles.

The problem in 2 Corinthians 3:18—a well-known crux—centres on the meaning of the Greek verb κατοπτρίζω. Does it mean 'seeing in a mirror' or 'reflecting, as in a mirror'? Do believers gaze at the glory of God, seen in a mirror, or themselves reflect that glory? Tyndale, too, seems to have been puzzled. In the 1526 edition he wrote, 'The

Lord's glory appeareth in us all, as in a glass'; in other words, it is believers who reflect the glory. But in 1534 he changed this to 'we all behold the glory of the Lord with his face open', which strangely takes the phrase 'with open face' to belong to the Lord, rather than to believers. The exact meaning of the passage is uncertain, but neither of Tyndale's translations is a very good one on this occasion.

Colossians 1:24 offers another knotty problem. Commentators have long wrestled with a text that apparently speaks of Paul making up what is lacking in the sufferings of Christ: how, they ask, can Christ's sufferings be in any sense deficient? It has recently been argued that if one follows closely the order of the Greek, all is clear: 'I fill up that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for the sake of his body, the Church'.¹⁵ In other words, as one who was in Christ, and granted the privilege of suffering with Christ, Paul knew that there was still more suffering in store for him—suffering which would, however, prove to bring benefit to the Church. If only earlier commentators had turned to Tyndale, they would not have got into such a tangle. He translates the verse: 'Now joy I in my sufferings which I suffer for you, and fulfil that which is behind of the passions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake'. A marginal note underlines the meaning. Luther has no marginal note and his translation, it seems to me, gets this one wrong.

Another translation problem with interesting theological implications concerns the Greek phrase πίστις Χριστοῦ. The issue is a grammatical one: is the genitive subjective or objective? Are we, in other words, talking about Christ's faith or faithfulness, or our faith in him?¹⁶ This is a problem that occurs with other phrases—for example, when Paul says in 2 Corinthians 5:14 that the love of Christ constrains us, does he mean Christ's love for us, or ours for him? The answer there is probably that the genitive is subjective and that the phrase means Christ's love for us. But what about πίστις Χριστοῦ? Grammatically, it can be taken either way. Traditionally, it has been taken to refer to the believers' faith in Christ. But in several places this interpretation renders the phrase somewhat redundant. Could it be then, that the phrase in fact refers to Christ's own faith or faithfulness?—the word πίστις can have both meanings. Many commentators have resisted this interpretation, but I suspect they are influenced

by the belief that it undermines Luther's insistence on the doctrine of *sola fide*.¹⁷ Others support it, on the basis that it would fit very well into other aspects of Paul's theology.¹⁸ In view of the very lively discussion taking place on this subject at present, I am interested to find Tyndale translating this phrase as 'the faith of Jesus Christ'. That is just as ambiguous as the Greek, and so is the Latin of the Vulgate and of Erasmus, '*fides Jesus Christi*';¹⁹ by contrast, Luther translates the phrase by '*der Glauben an Jesum Christ*'.²⁰ Was it Luther who jumped to conclusions, because of his own convictions? Is that the reason why the phrase was taken as an objective genitive for the next four centuries? Could it be that Tyndale was understanding the phrase to refer to Jesus' own faith, rather than of faith in him? And if so, was he right?

Translation is a dangerous tool, for all translation involves interpretation. It is impossible to translate exactly from one language to another, and that leaves scope for different understandings. There is an Italian proverb that runs *traduttore traditore*—'the translator is a traitor'. This is perhaps hardly an encouraging note on which to end, but it is, nevertheless, a healthy reminder that no translator can ever convey exactly the sense of the original. Tyndale and More illustrate the way in which presuppositions influence conclusions, and both read their own beliefs into the text. But in the vast majority of the arguments between the two men regarding the meaning of words, I have to say that Tyndale was nearer to the truth than More. He started with the Greek, rather than with the Vulgate, and he had greater understanding of the New Testament usage of the words. We are fortunate that the translation that shaped all our English translations for the next four hundred years was prepared by someone who was not only supremely sensitive to the nuances of the English language, but who was also one of the best Greek scholars of his day.

Notes

1. D. Erasmus, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*.
2. R. Demaus, *William Tyndale* (London, 1871), p. 126.
3. T. More, *Complete Works*, 6.2, p. 504, n. 6.

4. See E. F. Rogers, *St. Thomas More: Selected Letters* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1961), nos 4 (15), to Martin Dorp, and 26 (83), to a Monk.

5. More, *Complete Works*, 8.3, p. 1351.

6. T. More, *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, III.8, 10.

7. *Ibid.*, III.8.

8. *Ibid.*, IV.11.

9. Tyndale points out that Erasmus frequently uses the Latin *resipisco*, 'I come to myself, or to my right mind again', in translating the Greek μετανοέω (*Prologue to St Matthew*).

10. More, *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, III.8.

11. *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* 1, *Complete Works*, 8.1, pp. 85–87.

12. M. D. Hooker, 'Authority on Her Head: An Examination of 1 Corinthians 11.10', *NTS*, 10 (1964), pp. 127–32, reprinted in *From Adam to Christ* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990), pp. 113–20.

13. E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (Crossroad, New York and London, 1983), pp. 227–30.

14. Preface to the 1534 translation.

15. W. F. Flemington, 'On the interpretation of Colossians 1:24', *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament: Studies Presented to G. M. Styler*, ed. William Horbury and Brian McNeil (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981), pp. 84–90.

16. See G. Howard, 'On the "Faith of Christ"', *HTR*, 60, pp. 459–65; R. B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11* (Scholar Press, Chico, 1983), M. D. Hooker, 'ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ', *NTS*, 35 (1989), pp. 321–42, reprinted in *From Adam to Christ*, pp. 165–86.

17. In fact, with the exception of Romans 3:26, the phrase always occurs in passages in which there is already a reference to the faith of the believer. The other passages are Romans 3:22, Galatians 2:16 (where the phrase occurs twice), 2:20 and 3:22, and Philippians 3:9.

18. For example, his emphasis on the obedience of Christ in Romans 5, and the fact that believers are in Christ and share in what he is; if they have faith and are faithful, this must surely be because they derive these qualities from him. The believer is enabled to believe in Christ because of the trust that Jesus himself had in God and because of his faithfulness to the divine will.

19. The evidence of other early translations such as the Syriac and Sahidic Coptic is also ambiguous.

20. Galatians 2:20 is an exception: Luther's translation here runs '*das lebe ich in dem Glauben des Sohnes Gottes*'.

Justifying God in Tyndale's English

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what in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support;
That to the highth of this great argument
I may assert eternal providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.¹

Milton's promise to 'justify the ways of God to men' is a phrase which has entered the English language, not only because of the poet's genius and stamina in apparently fulfilling his promise, but because of the brazenness of the ambition in the first place. The word that sticks in the mind is the strange verb *justify*. Pope, rewriting the line in *An Essay on Man*, changed just that one word in offering instead to 'vindicate the ways of God to Man'.² His emendation has not been judged successful. Within a few years, Bishop Thomas Newton had opined: 'It is not easy to conceive any good reason for Mr Pope's preferring the word *vindicate*'.³ And yet for some reason no less a critic than Dr Johnson found Pope's line easier to bear. Silently he substituted Pope's *vindicate* for Milton's *justify*, when in his *Life of Milton* he managed to misquote the most famous line in the poet's most famous poem: 'His purpose was the most useful and the most arduous; to *vindicate the ways of God to man*; to shew the reasonableness of religion, and the necessity of obedience to the Divine Law'.⁴

What could have possessed Johnson to misremember so memorable a phrase? In some area of consciousness he found the idea of justifying God unconscionable. For how can anyone 'justify God'? Or more to the point, in what ways could God *not* be justified in the first place? Milton's phrase is a powerful oxymoron at many levels and reverberates in ways that are difficult to evaluate (or justify). By comparison, the word *vindicate* seems to assuage any such doubt with its air

of inevitable triumph over enemies. Pope's emendation implies an argument which has already been won. Johnson finds within it a connotation of the force of 'necessity of obedience' and a confirmation of 'the reasonableness of religion', a connotation which appears vulnerable in the more apologetic resonance of 'justify'. Milton's word, unlike Pope's, carries with it a suggestion (needing to be answered) of a providence less clear and a religion less reasonable, of a God who needs arguing for and even (dare it be said) a God who is less than justifiable.

The reason for Milton's choice of word is clear enough, as was recognised by Newton in his annotation: 'Milton makes use of the word *justify*, as it is the Scripture word, That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, Rom. III.4'.⁵ Yet the origin of the word *justify* in Scripture raises as many questions as it solves. Newton's clarificatory citation from St Paul (for instance), justifying Milton's usage, could hardly be more obscure:

For what if some did not believe? shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? God forbid: yea, let God be true, but every man a liar; as it is written, That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged. (Romans 3:3-4, AV)

This passage, like much of Romans, is astonishing in its readiness to consider the possibility that God is unreasonable, unjustified, or even unrighteous. Naturally, Paul also offers to acquit, vindicate, or, in the English translation of his own word, 'justify' God against such charges. In doing so he uses a vocabulary that bristles with linguistic difficulties.⁶

To examine this it is necessary to consider Paul's Greek in the final relative clause of verse 4: Ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσεις ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε. The passive verb δικαιωθῇς derives from troublesome roots. The classical verb δικαιόω is a cognate of the Homeric noun δίκη, 'custom' and hence 'law, right', also an individual 'judgement'.⁷ In classical usage noun and verb came to play a technical role in legal practice. In Athenian law, δικαιοῦν meant 'to do justice to someone'.⁸ It was usually used, however, in relation to a person who was judged to be in the wrong (ἀδικαίως), so that the

term effectively signified punishment.⁹ To 'do justice' to a criminal was to condemn him.

Paul's use of the verb, however, is also determined by its meaning in the Septuagint. Words derived from the Hebrew root *šdq* are translated in the Septuagint by means of words from the δίκαιος-group in Greek on more than 460 occasions, so much so that the Septuagint translators seem to have thought of the words as translingual synonyms. However, no word has exactly the same range of meaning as another in a different language. Indeed, although the verb δικάιόω is used in its active and middle/passive forms to denote different usages of the Hebrew verb *šādaq*, the Hebrew verb is often in contradistinction of the sense of the Greek verb as it would appear in classical usage. For the Hebrew term is never used to mean 'to condemn': even in the context of a wrongdoer it means instead 'to acquit' or 'to declare to be in the right'. Its origins lie not in secular legal practice but in the religious sphere of a scheme of affairs that is *šaddiq*—the way things are when they are in proper order with God. In the Septuagint, then, the passive form δικαιοῦσθαι has a connotation less of strict adherence to an ethical notion of justice than of accordance with the redemptive promise of divine salvation.

Paul's use of the word δικαιοθῆς at Romans 3:4 is further complicated by the fact that it is a citation from Psalm 51:4 and is thus a direct transplant from Hebrew meaning. David in that Psalm acknowledges his sin ('Against thee, thee only, have I sinned') and prays that his confession might vindicate (justify?) God's (shall we say) 'justice'. In classical Greek such an idea would be a manifest absurdity. Septuagintal and Pauline usage therefore go against the grain of the language. This sense of (literal) paradox remains evident in Paul's writing, where the wish that God 'mightest be justified in thy sayings' sounds like either a tautology or a contradiction. God's words surely already are just; if not, how can they be 'justified' by human lies or mistrust? Yet in the original Hebrew there is no such problem: sin requires redemption and so brings out (evinces) God's righteousness.

These problems of meaning can be summarised by reference to a crucial theological phrase, δικαιοῦσθαι τὸν ἄσεβῆ, used with startling force at Romans 4:5. At Isaiah 5:23 this Greek phrase is the Septuagint translation for a phrase which means in Hebrew 'to justify

the ungodly (unrighteous)', mentioned in this context as something which is abominable to a righteous God. In Ecclesiasticus 42:2 the same phrase is used, but the same interpretation of its meaning does not seem possible. Here, in this Apocryphal source, no Hebrew original survives for comparison, and the Septuagint text seems to be better understood by reference to the secular Greek sense of 'to punish the ungodly'.¹⁰ These contradictory contexts in turn help us to appreciate the full power of the paradox in Paul's usage at Romans 4:5: 'But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted as righteousness' (AV). Here the God who δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἄσεβῃ does something that is impossible in Hebrew or classical Greek, in 'declaring the unrighteous righteous': a locution that is unidiomatic and perhaps unspeakable in Hebrew, but in ordinary Greek simply nonsensical. For how could God be justified in justifying the unjustifiable?

I.

It should already be obvious that trying to convey these problems in English only multiplies them further. To use terms such as 'justify' or 'justice' as if they were synonyms for Hebrew or Greek words is to ignore their very different origins. The availability of a set of terms from a quite separate linguistic root, such as 'righteousness', neatly indicates this. Discussion in English of the Hebrew of the Old Testament, or the Greek of the New, takes us immediately back into a history of usage laden with difficulty and controversy, beginning with the first rendering of those languages into English by William Tyndale:

What then though some of them did not beleve? shall their vnbeleve make the promes of god with out effecte? God forbid. Let god be true, and all men lyars, as it is written: That thou myghtest be iustified in thy sayinge and shuldest overcome when thou arte iudged. (Romans 3:3-4)¹¹

Word for word, this is almost exactly the reading adopted in the Authorised Version, known though not much liked by Milton. Tyndale's wording thus became the standard lexicon for English theology

of justification, and in this context Milton's English might just as well be called Tyndale's English. It is in Tyndale's English that the phrase 'the righteousness of God' has been received, as also Jesus' seminal statement of his mission: 'I am not come to call the rightewes, but the synners to repentaunce' (Matthew 9:13). Although Tyndale did not live to translate the Psalms (the location of some of the most important Old Testament texts on justification), Coverdale's vocabulary for the Psalter had already been primed for him by Tyndale's rendering of comparable Old Testament passages: 'iudge thy seruauntes, y^t thou condempne the wycked to bring his waye vpon his heed / iustefie y^e righteous to geue him according to his rightwesnesse' (1 Kings 8:32).¹² In such a passage, Tyndale entrenches a vocabulary which has come to define Christian theology as practised in English: 'iudge . . . iustefie . . . righteous . . . rightwesnesse'.

Yet the history of how Tyndale came to compose these phrases, and how they came to be accepted through the sixteenth century, is a much more complicated story, which this article will proceed to tell. It is a story of entangled etymologies and confused significations, of homonyms and synonyms dividing and recombining. In the struggle for a vernacular idiom, the roots of the language are set against each other and minutely scrutinised for their import. Tyndale's words became the signifiers of an intense controversy and the marks of a new theology, in which the Germanic 'rightwise' is tested against the Latinate 'iust'. The idiosyncracies of English word formation and grammar twisted the lines of this debate at every turn. For Tyndale's idiom was formed only through the friction and resistance of the history of the English language.

Tyndale's primacy in English biblical translation has sometimes led to his portrayal as a prophet in the wilderness, giving voice to vernacular Scripture as if speaking in tongues. Such a picture, although flattering to the translator, mistakes his task and its achievement. The English which Tyndale used was not his to own or to coin except in limited circumstances. It was a language already invested with Christian connotation and with a ready-made biblical vocabulary. Although the Bible itself was officially disseminated in Latin—along with the liturgy and the technical language of theology—vernacular sermons, prayers, and devotions were naturally common currency. Tyndale had

been speaking, hearing, and reading such a currency throughout his adult, professional, and personal life.

In addition, the Bible already existed in an English version, or rather two, in the two recensions of the Wycliffite translation. Direct access to these Bibles was limited, since their use was prohibited by statute and was persecuted with varying degrees of violence by state and ecclesiastical authority throughout the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth. However, the many surviving manuscripts attest to some kind of readership, as do the accounts of heresy trials, in which the discovery of copies of the Bible plays a key role in the narrative of persecutor and persecuted alike. Complete texts of the whole Wycliffite Bible were rare and no doubt very expensive, but copies also existed of the New Testament on its own and of separate books; records survive of ownership by individuals of the Epistles of St Paul and St James, of the Gospels, of the Acts, and of the Apocalypse.¹³ John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* asserts the high value placed on these portions of Scripture among Lollards into the early sixteenth century and their skill in concealing possession: 'some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St James or of St Paul in English'.¹⁴

Tracing any such copy into the hands of Tyndale before his hasty departure from England in 1524 is impossible. Lollard groups are known to have existed in the cloth-making villages of Gloucestershire, where Tyndale grew up; Tyndale's brother Edward traded in cloth, and heretical books were passed under the cover of this merchandise.¹⁵ Bristol, where Tyndale engaged in open-air preaching in 1522 or 1523, was a known centre of Lollardy.¹⁶ When Tyndale was suspected by the bishop's chancellor of heterodox opinions, his possible association with heretical conventicles would have been a prime area of concern. As it was, nothing incriminating (such as a banned book) was found.¹⁷ His contacts in London, where he went next, are of a more known quantity. Humphrey Monmouth, who had heard Tyndale preach at St Dunstons in the West and took him in as a lodger at his house in All Hallows Barking, was eventually arraigned before Wolsey in 1528, and his confession survives.¹⁸ This confession attempts to justify his support for Tyndale (who by then was England's arch-heretic) as an act of natural charity, but also shows him guarded about his ownership of potentially secret texts. He owns up to receiving into his household

copies of Erasmus's *Enchiridion* and Luther's *De Libertate Christiana* and also an English New Testament, but denies keeping them for his own personal use; he keeps hidden from his confession a manuscript of Tyndale's Bristol sermons, which he is believed to have owned and burned. Yet according to Foxe, whose views were partial but whose research was prodigious, Monmouth had long since become a 'Scripture-Man', since the time of Richard Hunne's infamous imprisonment and John Colet's brief arrest in 1513.¹⁹

If anyone kept a copy of Lollard Scripture in London, then Monmouth, the London 'Scripture-Man', who was notably bookish and well versed in the practice of passing on this precious commodity through the covert means of his merchant business, had both motive and opportunity. A plausible textual channel thus connects Tyndale with perhaps even detailed knowledge of one or the other Wycliffite version. Yet even aside from conjecture, the Wycliffite translation was dispersed by other channels than textual: Reginald Pecock reports Lollard preachers as learning whole chunks by heart, in order to 'pour them out thick at feasts, and at ale drinking'.²⁰ 'A wiredrawer of Bristol knew the whole of the Apocalypse by heart', and a Birmingham cobbler was said to be able to recite parts of the Epistles of St Paul.²¹ Foxe records other cases of feats of memory such as the prodigious Alice Colyns, discovered during Bishop Longland's persecution of 1521, who was much in demand for her performances.²² Prodigies aside, rote-learning suggests an oral culture of scriptural knowledge existing alongside, and supporting, the transmission of the Lollard biblical text.²³ Such a culture is not incompatible with the accurate dissemination of a precise vernacular scriptural vocabulary. Even if Tyndale never had physical access to a manuscript of the Wycliffite Bible, or any portion of it, this does not prohibit him from having had a sense of its theological lexicon. One example of a key Pauline phrase suggests that he had memorised at least some inflexions from the Wycliffite text. The refrain 'God forbid', which Tyndale uses to translate *μὴ γένοιτο* throughout the New Testament, is also used in Wycliffite B, replacing the version in Wycliffite A, 'Fer be it'.²⁴ The terse and evocative prophanity 'God forbede', which matches neither the Greek nor the Latin, nor even Luther's German, is striking enough to suggest direct influence.

The language of justifying God in Tyndale's English can already be recognised in the revised Wycliffite rendition of Romans 3:3–4:

And what if summe of hem bileueden not? Whethir the vnbeleue of hem hath auoidid the feith of God? God forbede. For God is sothefast, but ech man a liere; as it is writun, That thou be iustified in thi wordis, and ouercome, whanne thou art demed.²⁵

The measure of the distance from Tyndale here is syntactical rather than lexical, in the sure touch of his relative pronouns in comparison with the clumsy awkwardness of 'Whethir . . . For . . . but'. The crucial theological term 'be iustified' is already established. However, both Wycliffite texts register the ambiguity of the word in English usage by feeling a need to gloss it further. Wycliffite A, which has no marginal notes, adumbrates an internal gloss by giving alternative phrases, 'That thou be iustified, *or founden trewe*, in thi wordis'. Wycliffite B adds a full annotation in the margin: '*be iustified*, that is, that the truthe of thi word appere'.

The glosses show the failure of this English word to gloss itself. Here it is necessary to remember that the Wycliffite versions were based not on the Greek but the Vulgate Latin, *ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis*. The cognate form of 'iustifie' to the Latin *iustificare* is of the utmost significance. The morphological proximity makes the one word seem a natural exchange for the other. Yet each word in its own language is a peculiarity, and the semantic field of each is different. Indeed, despite the apparent ease of swapping one for the other, the Wycliffite versions do not always translate instances of *iustificare* with 'iustifie'. In the preceding chapter of Romans, for example, *sed factores legis iustificabuntur* (2:13) is given as 'but the doeris of the lawe schulen be maad iust' (Wycliffite B; A identical). Romans 3:24, on the other hand, *iustificati gratis per gratiam ipsius* is given as 'iustified freli bi his grace' [B].

This uncertainty between 'iustified' and 'maad iust' has historic origins. The verb *iustificare* does not exist in classical Latin.²⁶ It was artificially coined in Christian usage as a direct translation for the Greek verb δικαιοῦν. Given the complexity of that word, this Latin neologism was invested with uncertain powers of reference, and

with no semantic history within the language to inform or prejudice analysis. Lacking this history, theologians invented one for it. In this process, by far the most significant figure is Augustine. His many glosses of the biblical contexts of the verb effectively transformed its signification.

As we have observed, in Greek, Romans 4:5 reads like an oxymoron: a person who πιστεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δικαιούντα τὸν ἄσεβῃ believes in a strange God indeed, since God 'acquits' the criminal against the grain of the language itself, appropriating from Hebrew a wholly new meaning for a verb which more naturally would mean 'convict' (for to 'do justice' to wrong is to punish it). Augustine developed his extraordinary reinterpretation of the theological implications of *iustificatio* with no reference to Hebrew and almost none to Greek. Only the briefest account can be given here and that must of necessity be restricted to linguistic detail.²⁷ Working entirely within the scope of an inherited Latin vocabulary, Augustine attempted to account for the paradoxical meanings of the verb *iustificare* by deriving it etymologically from *iustum facere*. Thus he glosses Romans 4:5 in Jerome's Latin in one of his earliest Christian works: *Qui iustificat impium, hoc est ex impio pium facit*.²⁸ God no longer merely revokes his judicial sentence on the *impius*, he reforms his character. The verb *iustificat* is given a new inflection, no less radical than its signification in Hebrew and Greek, but in a meaning which is foreign to both languages: to 'justify' is to 'make just'. This inflection in turn is applied throughout Augustine's work, before and after the controversies with the Donatists and the Pelagians, as a standard trope of annotation: *credens utique in eum qui iustificat non pium sed impium, ut iustificando pium faciat*.²⁹

This etymology of Augustine, the most widely cited interpretative authority throughout the Middle Ages, lent a distinctive tincture to the Latin theology of justification. *Iustificatio* indicates a process as well as a judgement. Buried within the word is thus a double meaning. Yet it should not be assumed that these strains of difference are easily to be unravelled as isolable meanings. It has recently been stated with some justice that the development in the Latin Church of a theory of 'merit' attaching to justification was less a product of doctrinal imposition than of an ambiguity in the grammar of the Latin language in which doctrine was formulated.³⁰

As well as being aware of the complexities of theological history, then, we have to attune ourselves to the capacity of languages to contain within themselves complex theological double meanings. Translation—an activity embedded in all Christian theology—itself proliferates such ambiguities and makes them harder to uncover. Such double meanings exert their influence even (or especially) when they are imperfectly understood. The Wycliffite versions translate Romans 4:5 using ‘iustifyeth’: ‘forsoth bileuyng into him that iustifyeth the wickid man, *or vnpytous*’. However, the two versions attest to the two different strains of meaning in *iustificare*. Wycliffite A renders Job 4:17 (*numquid homo Dei conparatione iustificabitur*) as ‘Whether a man of God shal be iustified bi comparisoun’, but Wycliffite B corrects this to ‘Whethir a man schal be maad iust in comparisoun of God?’ and makes the same correction at 33:12, in each case adding a long marginal note justifying the usage. The changes betray an uncertainty in interpretation, and the annotations an awareness of the potentially difficult implications of this uncertainty.

II.

Tyndale entered into this field of ambiguity in a context that was different both linguistically and theologically. The Wycliffite versions responded to Jerome’s Latin in a complex way, attempting to discover a purified biblical meaning against the pull of an official orthodoxy which was nonetheless based on the same Latin text. Tyndale worked in the same English language and, whether or not he knew these versions directly, was familiar with the same accent and register of ‘justification’ in English. However, he was not working from Latin but from Greek and then Hebrew. His own idiom subtly divagated through this change of context. This is not to say that he invented new words, like some irrepressible coiner of new terms, so much as that he renewed their currency by novel processes of exchange.

Tyndale’s vocabulary of justification is in fact notably conservative. He translates every instance of the verb δικαιόω in the New Testament with ‘iustifie’. His consistent use of ‘iustifie’ in the Old Testament becomes especially striking when compared with the Vulgate readings found in the Wycliffite. Exodus 23:7 is translated by Tyndale ‘I will

not iustifye the weked', whereas Wycliffite B has 'Y am aduersarie to a wickid man' (following the Vulgate *aversor*); and for Deuteronomy 25:1 Tyndale gives 'let the iudges iustifie the rightuous', whereas Wycliffite B has 'thei schulen 3yue the victorie of riztfulnesse to him').³¹ In 2 Chronicles 6:23 Tyndale renders the terms of distributive justice as 'rewarde y^e euell & brynge his waye vpon his heed / & iustefye the righteous & geue him accordynge to his rightwesnesse', whereas Wycliffite B has 'venge the iust man, and zelde to hym after his riztfulnesse' ('venge' after Vulgate *ulciscaris*).³²

In each of these cases, Tyndale restores as homonyms usages which had been split by the Vulgate into separate words, a practice faithfully followed in the Wycliffite. The complexities of Hebrew usage are thus grafted back onto the ambiguity of an Augustinian Latin designed in part to obviate these complexities. By using the same word to translate what in the Wycliffite had become conveniently distinct usages, Tyndale allows the Hebrew word its full opacity. At the same time, by retaining this same word in the New Testament, Tyndale's version also restores some of the contortedness of Paul's violently hybrid Greek. Whereas Wycliffite B uses 'maad iust' to denote some uses, Tyndale's rigorous maintenance of 'iustifie' allows the full semantic density to that characteristic Pauline phrase 'him that iustifieth the vngodly' (Romans 4:5).

Tyndale seems to have decided on the primary importance of using the same English word on every occasion, rather than choosing (as the Vulgate does) a variety of synonymous phrases according to context. The word 'iustifie' thus builds up within it an accretion of significations throughout Tyndale's Bible, with each context affecting the next. As a result, the word 'iustifie' emerges as a more capacious word at the end of Tyndale's work than it appeared at its inception.

Here it is necessary to consider how Tyndale came to choose the word 'iustifie' in the first place. It was not the only word available to him. Several Middle English Psalters used the word 'rightwise' as a verb for this purpose, as in 'He calles me, he rightwises me and glorifies me' (Psalm 61:6).³³ One, the Rolle Psalter, uses this form in Psalm 50 (51):4: 'Vt iustificeris in sermonibus tuis, that thou be rightwised in thi wordis'.³⁴ 'Rightwise' as a verb was still current in the early sixteenth century: for instance in William Turner's *The Huntyng and Fyndyng*

out of the *Romishe Fox* of 1543.³⁵ As we have seen, Wycliffite B uses 'make iust' and also 'venge', an interesting precedent for Pope's 'vindicate'. None of these locutions is ever employed by Tyndale, and only once does he ever avail himself in his translations of the phrase 'make righteous' in place of δικαιοῦν. By contrast, in *A Prologe to the Romayns*, he does sometimes use 'make righteous' as a synonym for 'iustifie': 'Here of cometh it, that fayth only iustifieth, maketh rightewes, and fulfilleth thelawe'.³⁶ The phrase is treated as a gloss of precise equivalence: 'Abraham with oute and before allworkes was iustified and made righteous'.³⁷

Both of these instances, however, come in a translation from Luther's German. In his independent English works, Tyndale avoids the expression. Only once in his translations, at Galatians 3:24, Tyndale adopts it in translating δικαιοῦν, when he renders the aorist passive subjunctive δικαιωθῶμεν 'that we might be made rightewes by fayth'. In the context of his work as a whole, this usage in Galatians is an anomaly. In Romans, he never uses the phrase at all except in translating a different type of Greek grammar at 5:19: 'For as by one mannes disobedience many be cam synners: so by the obedience of one shall many bemaderighteous'. The curious composite participle 'bemaderighteous' is Tyndale's equivalent to the Greek δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται, and it is clear that in this case he is treating 'righteous' as a translation of the adjective δίκαιοι rather than as part of the verb καθίστημι. Tyndale's attempt at exactness is typical here: in the previous verse he translates 'by the iustifyinge of one commeth the rightewesnes that bringeth lyfe', using 'iustifyinge' for the verbal noun δικαιῶμα and 'rightewesnes' for δικαιῶσις, whereas the King James translators later scotched the rigour of Paul's grammar with the circumlocutory obfuscation 'by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life'.

There are two points to be noted here. One is Tyndale's habitual eschewal of phrasal verb forms such as 'make righteous'. This is theologically paramount. The enormous cultural stress surrounding the concept of justification in early sixteenth-century thought has long been recognised. In the standard history of the topic, the argument centres around the continuing influence of Augustine's idea of a transformational process of *iustum facere* against the radical force of Luther's

identification of a *iustitia* which is entirely imputed. The same history comments that Tyndale 'tends to interpret justification as "making righteous"' and has associated this with a general alignment in early sixteenth-century English Protestantism. Such a comment shows the problem of generalising at the level of concept or doctrine in a period of volatile linguistic change. Tyndale's formulation of a lexicon of 'justification' involves a complex of linguistic forces, including that of imputation: 'To him that worketh not, but beleveth on him that iustifieth the vngodly, is his fayth counted for rightewesnes' (Romans 4:5). The choice of 'counted' here is a self-consciously radical gesture, replacing the Latinate form 'rettid' favoured by the Wycliffite in direct derivation from the Vulgate *reputatur*, with an English word which recognises the computational metaphor implicit in the Greek λογίζεται. Faith is no longer 'reputed as' a form of intrinsic justice, but 'counted'—as it were swapped or exchanged—for it. The 'rightewesnes' of Abraham is significatory rather than psychological.

The second point lies in the etymology of 'iustifie'. Here we notice something very strange. Tyndale often deliberately rejected Latinisms—as indeed in the preference for 'counted' over 'rettid', or 'favour' over 'grace' in the same passage. Thomas More early noted the controversial edge in this choice of signifiers. Tyndale offered to use the weight of the original languages themselves against orthodoxy, consciously embracing Hebraism and Hellenism as a weapon against Romanism. He became a master in the polemical art of matching language against language. For this purpose the rejection of Latinate vocabulary was revolutionary, and Anglo-Saxon substituted a code for Lutheran subversion. A few years later, Sir John Cheke made this subliminal logic explicit in a nationalist statement of the triumph of the English language against papal Latinity.

The case of 'iustifie' shows other forces at work. Like William Turner, Tyndale could have chosen 'to rightwise' or 'to righteous', and to have done so would have had a considerable effect on the history of the English language, not least in *Paradise Lost*. Instead, Tyndale allowed his translation to follow a different linguistic path. The English word 'iustifie', like the Greek δικαιουν but unlike the Latin *iustificare* (and indeed unlike 'rightwise'), is derived from a legal meaning. To 'justifien' in medieval usage is 'to administer justice to' or 'to do justice

to' somebody; also 'to try' somebody (as a judge); alternatively 'to execute justice upon' someone—that is, like δικαιῶν, 'to condemn' or 'punish'. It also had an established history—as we see from the Wycliffite versions—as the word for theological acquittal through Christ's righteousness. In a more general application, the meaning of the word could be 'to show (a person or action) to be just or in the right' or 'vindicate'; or alternatively, 'to make good (an argument)', 'to corroborate, prove, verify'.³⁸

The word 'iustifie' thus occupied a wide semantic field in the later medieval period. In the same decade that Tyndale began his translations, it acquired still more specific and rebarbative legal connotation. An Act of 1529 used the word as a technical term meaning 'to show or maintain sufficient reason in court for doing that which one is called upon to answer for'; the noun 'iustificacyon' was employed similarly to mean the grounds for a case in defence.³⁹ The entry of a word into Statute in this period of the reign of Henry VIII gave it a minatory edge. Even as Tyndale was composing his translation, his language was changing in the oppressive and often violent context of the struggle of meaning over law and religion. The *Oxford English Dictionary* records five new meanings for 'justify' during the course of the sixteenth century.⁴⁰

The language obeys its own gravitational rules, which act as an unseen undertow in any effort to manipulate them. For a vital theological purpose, Tyndale chose a word with a rich linguistic history. Despite its Latin origins, he sensed an affinity with the legal and religious contexts which he found in the Hebrew and Greek terms he wished to render. But a word brings with it an archæology of connotations which no author or reader controls. Tyndale's Latinate choice carried a chain of canonical and scholastic associations which rubbed against the now irrecoverable sheen of the ancient currency. As we have seen, Paul's Greek already struggles between different linguistic and social contexts. His text may well have meant something different to a Jew (with intimate knowledge of Hebrew Scripture) and a Gentile (with a background in Hellenistic law). Augustine, with no Hebrew and little or no Greek, invested an unclear Latin neologism with unpredictable powers of reference. Tyndale, operating in a vast and uncertain field between a polyglossia of languages, including one hardly yet recognisable in his own country, attempted to establish a new form of

linguistic correspondence in his vernacular idiom. He was fighting with forces some of which he recognised readily and treated controversially and with radical vigour, but also with others that he could hardly have comprehended. And all the time the language shifted with his own efforts. 'Justify' is a crucial sixteenth-century term. Not surprisingly, it is therefore violently mobile. During Milton's century it acquired a further five new meanings. By the time Milton promised to 'justify God', it could mean 'to show the reasonableness of', 'to acknowledge as true or genuine' or 'to account just or reasonable'. These are all qualities one might justly or reasonably hope to be beyond dispute in God. The very need to prove them makes them frighteningly open to doubt. According to the nexus of meanings available, Milton's phrase could imply 'to prove God's justice' (in which event the indelicate suggestion is that the case requires proof, when hopefully it would be self-evident); or it means 'to declare God just' (which carries the possible subtext that he is not so in fact); or else it means 'to make him just' (in which case he is apparently not just beforehand).

III.

Tyndale's 'iustifie' reverberates not only within its own etymologies, but against the quite different Anglo-Saxon register of 'rightewesnes'. For just as Tyndale is strict in his translation of δικαιώω with 'iustifie', with two minor exceptions he renders all eighty-seven instances of δικαιοσύνη in the New Testament as 'rightewesnes' (also spelt 'righteousnes').⁴¹ Yet whereas δικαιώω and δικαιοσύνη are cognate, 'justifie' and 'rightewesnes' obviously are not. Together in English they create an odd dissonance of origins, a couple made natural by habit but not always in harmony: 'To him that worketh not, but beleventh on him that iustifieth the vngodly, is his fayth counted for rightewesnes' (Romans 4:5).

The Germanic word is actually rather older than the Latinate. Usage of 'rehtwisnisse' as a translation of the biblical terms goes back to the ninth century: it is the standard word, for instance, in Ælfric.⁴² In Old English versions of Scripture it is a common equivalent for the Latin *iustitia*, which itself is used indiscriminately in the Vulgate Old and New Testaments in exchange for the different Hebrew and Greek

terms. The two Wycliffite versions apparently employ 'rihtwisnesse' interchangeably with 'riȝ fulnesse' for *iustitia* with no consistency of usage. On some occasions, influenced by the Vulgate, they substitute another word altogether, 'iustefiȝng' or 'equyte' where the Vulgate has *iustificatio* or *aquitas* in place of δικαιοσύνη.⁴³ In all of these cases, Tyndale regularises the equivalence between the restored Greek usage and his preferred English usage 'rightewesnes'. In the process, he makes the English word a technical instrument of theology, adopted in almost all English translations to the present day.

To understand how he does this, we have to investigate the resonances of the word he inherited. In comparison with 'iustifien', 'rightwisnesse' is most commonly a religious term in medieval usage. Thus Langland:

That rihtwisnesse thorw repentaunce to reuthe myhte turne.⁴⁴

However, the word was also used in legal practice: for instance in Chancery usage it connoted the strictest adherence to the rule of justice.⁴⁵ The adjective 'rightwis' likewise had a specifically scriptural sense, but (especially in later medieval usage) acquired more diverse and less precise connotations. One area of equivocation concerns how far it may be used as a general term of moral rectitude or virtue. There is some slippage in the area of reference within the word. Chaucer, for instance, usually applies the word to God, but infiltrates it into a salacious sexual context in a passage in the Thisbe narrative in the *Legend of Good Women*:

And ryghtwis God to every loveŕ sende,
That loveth trewely, more prosperite
Than evere yit had Piramus and Tisbe!⁴⁶

Preferring the cognate form 'ryghtfull', Langland does not use the word 'ryghtwis'. Sometimes he uses this word as a technical biblical term, for example, 'riȝtfol Iesu' (C, XX, 94), and 'þe riȝtful' (A, IX, 17), where 'riȝtful' means 'redeemed, saved'. In other contexts, the word has a looser connotation equivalent to 'just, honest': in the B-text Prologue a lunatic exhorts the king, "And for þi riȝtful rulyng be rewarded

in heuene!'" (B, Prologue, 127); and elsewhere Conscience informs the king that 'relacioun rect is a ryhtful custume' (C, III, 373).

This equivocation between a theological and a more general moral reading of the word is more awkward in some fifteenth-century cases. Malory, for instance, makes the word 'rightwys' the defining condition of secular kingship in the inscription on the stone of the sword: 'WHOSO PULLETH OUTE THIS SWERD OF THIS STONE AND ANVYLD IS RIGHTWYS KYNGE BORNE OF ALL EN[G]LOND'.⁴⁷ And yet to claim this as a secular usage is (characteristically in Malory) problematic. The stone is placed in the churchyard of St Paul's Church by the Archbishop of Canterbury, albeit on the recommendation of the oddly ecumenical priest Merlin. It is under the ordinance of God that Ector proclaims Arthur a 'rightwys' King. However, somewhat as in Chaucer, the word is prone to secularisation, as when yet another conquest by the endlessly amiable Sir Gawain is claimed as an example of poetic sexual justice under 'the ryghteuouse jugemente of God'.⁴⁸ In some contexts, the word is taken out of a religious arena altogether to mean something equivalent to 'on the right side of justice': 'And by mysadventure kynge Marke smote sir Amante thorow the body; and yet was Amaunte in the ryghtuous quarell'.⁴⁹

The tales of Arthur, printed by Caxton, are perhaps not the most tactful parallel with Tyndale, who complained of such literature in ex-coriating terms. Closer to his own problems of interpretation is an extended gloss on the meaning of 'ryztwys' in the fourteenth-century allegorical poem *Pearl*. This poem, the dreaming vision of a father whose tiny daughter has died in a state of innocence, contains a thorough analysis of the operation of God's grace, debated through a subtle exegesis of the troublesome and troubling parable of the vineyard in Matthew 20:1-16. Like the labourers in the vineyard who are given the same reward however long they have worked, so the reward of heaven is granted equally to the child who has done nothing to deserve it as to the adult with a lifetime of charitable living. Yet by such a doctrine, the troubled father doubts, 'Holy Wryt is bot a fable'; for the Psalms state it as 'a poynt determynable' that

'pou quyteȝ vchon as hys desserte,
pou hyȝe kyng ay pretermynable'.⁵⁰

The economics of the vineyard appear 'vnresounable' (line 590), since it implies that the less work you do, the more you earn. Justice demands that this not be so and that each be paid according to 'hys desserte'.

The father's argument follows the classic *credo* of Roman law as expressed by Cicero and by Justinian: *reddens unicuique quod suum est*.⁵¹ The Pearl replies with pristine Pauline logic that no man lives so holy a life that heaven is earned by reward. With careful understatement she sums up the overstatement of divine grace:

Mercy and grace moste hem þen stere,
For þe grace of God is gret innoze. (Lines 623–24)

God's riches know nothing of 'more and lasse' (line 601), and each person is paid alike whatever theoretically is due to him. The Pearl's economics are therefore radically different from the dreamer's, and so is her definition of *iustitia*. It is in this context that she reconsiders the meaning of 'ryȝt' and 'ryȝtwys'.

At first her argument is pursued in relation to the innocent. The innocent is always saved—according to reason and 'right'. In a complicated phrase ('resoun of ryȝt', line 665), the Pearl implies that reason is always 'right' (just), and 'right' is always reasonable (correct). This is a piece of complex verbal play, since 'resoun and ryȝt' was common idiom, virtually a cliché (as in Old French also, *c'est raison e droit*).⁵² It is only right and reasonable, she concludes, that

And inoscente is saf and ryȝte. (Line 672)

This line, with subtle and crucial alterations, then becomes the refrain of this stanza. However, in its passage from one verset to another, the refrain—and the meaning of 'ryȝte'—undergoes a transformation in meaning.

The first sign of difficulty is in the comparison between the innocent who is saved because of lack of guilt and the 'ryȝtwys' who is saved despite guilt in view of repentance. It is the gift of grace to treat each case equably, but the two cases are not equal: indeed the 'ryȝtwys' is the opposite of the 'harmlez'. So it is in rather a different sense of 'ryȝt' that the Pearl asserts for a second time that

þe innoſent is ay ſaf by ryȝt. (Line 684)

Here, 'by ryȝt' appears to be a shorthand for 'by justification'. If so, the full significance of the qualification is not yet clear. For why does the 'innocent' need to be justified, rather than being already just?

The answer appears to be that the innocent is justified in a different way from the 'ryȝtwys'. For in the latter case justification, it appears, comes precisely not 'by right'. In justification of this argument, the Pearl quotes from Psalm 143:

'Lorde, þy ſeruaunt draȝ neuer to dome,
For non lyuyande to þe is juſtyfyer'. (Lines 699–700)

If a 'ryȝtwys' sinner appears before the court of heaven and attempts to plead his case according to the strict rule of justice, he will be contradicted by David's words:

Forþy to corte quen þou ſchal com
þer alle oure cauſeȝ ſchal be tryed,
Alegge þe ryȝt, þou may be innome,
By þys ilke ſpech I haue aſſpyed. (Lines 701–4)

The full intricacy of the Pearl's argument is now beginning to be revealed in this use of Psalm 143:2 as text of refutation. For whereas 'ryȝt' appeared at the outset to be in accord with 'reſoun', now it appears more 'vnreſounable', but also more wonderful. The 'innocent' is 'ryȝt' by nature—as it were inherently. But the 'ryȝtwys' is not 'ryȝt' by nature, only when given this grace by God. Chriſt's death on the croſs makes right, but does not do ſo 'by right'. The 'ryȝtwys', paradoxically (who is not innocent), is made righteous

By innocens and not by ryȝte. (Line 708)

In ſome deeper and myſterious ſenſe, which the poem gracefully makes no attempt to explain, God's 'ryȝt' is therefore not 'ryȝt'.

This beautiful eſſay in grace is achieved by minute modulations in the understanding of the moſt reſtricted theological vocabulary.

Repeatedly using the abbreviated phrase 'by ryzte', the poem equivocates between its everyday and its doctrinal meanings, so that this laconic refrain is capable of multiple interpretations. The result is a reformulation of the meaning of *iustitia* in the infinitely ambiguous term 'ryzt'. Put under question is the whole idea of *iustitia* as rendering a due. What is 'ryzt' is not a right but a gift.

Pearl shows the degree of complexity at work in the English word 'ryztwys' in the later Middle Ages. The poem uses the word against itself, crossing its roots in order to regraft its own meaning. The word is reborn as something not rightful but redeemed. Tyndale's work of translation manifests an attempt to recategorise the word according to similar principles, but with an urgent clarity in place of the dense ambiguity of *Pearl*. His English Bible, by reconfiguring the contexts in which the word is understood, attempts to forge a word with a more stable theological connotation.

Here we need to recall once again the Hebrew and Greek meanings he was encountering. The Hebrew *ṣaddîq* and the Greek adjective δίκαιος are used liberally throughout the Bible in a number of different idiomatic senses. The Vulgate translates these senses by means of a variety of terms such as *iustus*, *rectus*, *perfectus*. The Wycliffite versions respond by using, with little or no discrimination between them, 'ryztwis', 'ryztful', 'iust', 'perfaict', and other words. By comparison, Tyndale discriminates with some purpose. Significantly, he never describes Jesus as 'righteous' but always as 'iust' or 'perfecte'. One striking example is Luke 23:47, where the centurion describes the dying Christ as δίκαιος in an important variant from the reading in Matthew and Mark (υἱὸς θεοῦ, 'son of God').⁵³ This Tyndale carefully renders as 'Of a surtie this man was perfecte'. It is a usage which he consistently distinguishes from the word he uses to describe the redeemed sinner—'righteous'. In this case, the characteristic usage is Matthew 9:13, 'I am not come to call the rightewes, but the synners to repentaunce'.

The interesting point here is that the Greek word in all of these cases is δίκαιος. The Gospel of Matthew uses the word liberally and thus treats as homonymous senses that Tyndale's English turns into the distinctive synonyms 'iust' and 'righteous'. The consequence is that, in Tyndale's English, to be 'righteous' is typically to be in receipt of

something given and not inherent: 'and these shall go into everlastinge payne: And the righteous into lyfe eternall' (Matthew 25:66). This indeed is the gloss given to 'righteousness' in the Prologue to Romayns:

Righteousnes is euen suche faith, and is called Godes righteousnes, or righteousnes that is of valoure before God. For it is Goddis gifte, and it altereth a man and chaungeth him to a newe spirituall nature.⁵⁴

The occasions in Matthew when Tyndale translates δίκαιος by means of the words 'iust' or 'good' imply instead a rightness which can be thought of as inherent and not acquired: 'Then shall the iuste man shyne as bryght as the sunne' (Matthew 13:43); 'The angels shall come oute, and sever the bad from the good' (13:49).

In this way Tyndale begins to separate from their contexts two identifiable nuances. However, this is a process which is deeply implicit and prone to equivocation, and it is not at all clear that Tyndale succeeds or even means to be consistent. In the classic Lutheran verse Romans 1:17, he uses 'rightewesnes' and 'iust' in opposition: 'For by it the rightewesnes which commeth of god, is opened, from fayth to fayth. As it is written: The iust shall live by fayth'. Tyndale thereby enshrines in English usage a wording in which the mismatched Latin and German roots fail to register the deep resonance in the Greek between δικαιοσύνη θεου and ὁ δίκαιος.

It is possible that Tyndale was troubled in this instance by the fact that 'the iust shall live by fayth' is a quotation from Habakkuk and thus itself comes from a divergent linguistic root. Perhaps he felt that the Hebrew word needed signalling as distinctive. Tyndale's work in the two ancient languages puts his English under constant strain, as he labours to recognise the differences between the two idioms even as he rationalises their meaning into theological resemblances. When he moved on from translating the New Testament to the whole of the Pentateuch, he encountered an entire new lexicon of 'righteous' involved in the Hebrew *šaddîq* (and the noun form *šēdāqâ*, 'righteousness'), which as we have seen in many ways significantly differs from the Greek vocabulary used in the New Testament. It is as if here he finally found a true context for the radical meaning of 'righteous'

which he had earlier attempted in Matthew, at least in liminal form, to differentiate from 'iust'. For in the Pentateuch (with one exception) he never uses the word 'iust', but always 'righteous'.⁵⁵

The effect is that whereas in Matthew he moves to disambiguate the Greek word into separate senses in English, in the Pentateuch he reinvigorates the English word by allowing it the full range of the Hebrew senses. This serves once again to enrich his usage with an intense complexity. Thus it is stated that 'Noe was a righteous man' (Genesis 6:9), to whom God announces 'the haue I sene rightuous' (Genesis 7:1).⁵⁶ At Exodus 9:27 Pharaoh eventually declares 'the Lorde is rightwes', while in Exodus 23:8 the Lord approves 'the wordes of the righteous'. The beginning of Deuteronomy 17 demonstrates how far this English idiom has become established in Tyndale's usage:

and let them iudge the people righteously / Wrest not the lawe
nor knowe any persone nether take any rewarde: for giftes
blynde the wise and peruerte the wordes of the righteous. But in
all thinge folowe righteousnesse, that thou mayst lyue and
enioye the londe which the Lord thi God geueth the.

In Deuteronomy 25, Tyndale encapsulates what had become for him a characteristic theological register: 'let the iudges iustifie the rightuous and condemne the trespeaser'. The Matthew's Bible version of 1 Kings also follows this register to the letter: 'worke & iudge thy seruauntes, y^t thou condempe the wycked to bring his waye vpon his heed / iustefie y^e righteous to geue him according to his rightwesnesse' (1 Kings 8:32, Matthew's Bible).

IV.

Tyndale's emergent vocabulary of 'justification' and 'righteousness' shows many signs of strain and struggle.⁵⁷ He works to establish some stability of meaning in the correspondence between the complex values of ancient Hebrew and Greek usage and his own English, but he works with words that already have a long and entangled history. These English words evade him even as he puts pressure on them. Language eludes control and has its own authority beyond any author.

There has been a tendency to be interested in Tyndale primarily as a creator of a new language and to pay less attention to the ways in which he reacts to an English which is already very old. The Tyndale who emerges from such a study is a writer who is well aware of the dense and difficult history of implication within his native tongue. And yet Tyndale's usage also undeniably has a recognisable place in that history. By using these words in the way that he did, he set the pattern for biblical imitation into our own time. The effect on English ethics and politics, as well as on its Christianity, of his choice of 'righteousness' is considerable.

Fifty years after the publication of his first New Testament, the force of this effect was well understood. Gregory Martin's Rhemes New Testament, polemically described on the title page as 'translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin', laments the relentless vernacularisation of Scripture, whereby 'so much reading, chatting, and iangling of Gods word' has adulterated its sense.⁵⁸ In the endeavour to reverse the tide of the vernacular, the choice of a Latin original is dictated not only by its conformity with canonical usage. The Vulgate, he asserts, is based on very ancient sources, often better than the 'corrupted' surviving Greek manuscripts. Yet more importantly as a 'meanes of iustifying the old translation' (B4^v), the Latin serves as a bulwark against inevitable ambiguity.

Here the reliance on diverse ancient languages has become the Scylla and Charybdis of interpretation. The heretics, he says, cannot make their minds up between the two:

by tying them selues onely to the Hebrue in the old Testament,
they are forced to forsake the Greeke of the new: or if they will
mainteine the Greeke of the new, they must forsake sometime
the Hebrue in the old. (C2^r)

Martin here constructs an argument of some sophistication against his enemies. The varying linguistic roots of the ancient sources are prone when crossed to lead to inevitable equivocation in interpretation. There is no latent access to an 'authentical copy' in such a Bible. Latin offers the only viable path of singularity.

These caveats in the 'Preface to the Reader' are authenticated in the text of Martin's translation, and where authenticity is not guaranteed by the text alone, it is demonstrated in the copious apparatus to the text, the Arguments, Marginalia, and Annotations. One very visible vindication of Martin's method comes in the singular rewriting of the English language of 'righteousness'. For here Martin flouts not only the Calvinist readings of the Geneva Bible (and with them, Tyndale himself) but nearly a thousand years of English usage. The shock of this linguistic moment is apparent in Martin's rendition of the Beatitudes: 'Blessed are they that suffer persecution for iustice: for theirs is the Kingdom of heauen' (Matthew 5:10). To this unused usage, Martin adds a typically gutsy annotation, obliterating the suffering of heretics on the grounds that they 'suffer not for iustice' (p. 13).

At Matthew 5:21, where he translates once again 'unles your iustice abound more than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shal not enter into the Kingdom of heauen', a marginal gloss makes the choice of word more explicit: '*Your iustice.*] True inherent iustice' (p. 14). However, if this makes the controversial bent of Martin's lexis apparent, he is not able to lend it authority so transparently. The word 'iustice' brings in its train a compendium of explanation, beginning in the next chapter:

Iustice.] Hereby it is playne that good workes be iustice, and that man doing them doeth iustice, and is therby iust and iustified, and not by fayth only. (p. 16)

Far from being 'playne', Martin's usage is neither self-explanatory nor self-justifying. Yet its linguistic logic is 'playne' enough: the systematic restoration of the Latin root of *ius*: 'Iustice . . . iust . . . iustified'. By this means Martin attempts also to restore the Augustinian gloss that *iustificare* equals *iustum facere*.

This involves Martin in a wholesale revision of the English language of God's righteousness, preeminently as written in the English Paul: 'For the iustice of God is reuealed therein by faith into faith: as it is written: *And the iust liueth by faith*' (Romans 1:17). The description of 'iustice' as an attribute of God is a possible if rare medieval usage, but the *Middle English Dictionary* records only one instance of the

phrase 'godys Iustyse', and then not in its precise Pauline meaning.⁵⁹ As if to acknowledge his readers' unpreparedness for the term, Martin once more spills over into the justifying right-hand margin: 'He meaneth not Gods owne iustice in him self, but that iustice wherewith God endueth man when he iustifieth him' (p. 383). For 'iustifieth' we may read 'makes just', as Martin's citation from Augustine's *De spiritu et litera* confirms.

Martin traduces the hard-won idiom of Tyndale's 'righteousness' into a new formula of 'iustice'. At Romans 2:13 the contentiousness of this project openly asserts itself:

Shal be iustified.] Of al other Articles deceitfully handled by Heretikes, they vse most guile in this of Iustification: and specially by the equiuocation of certaine wordes, which is proper to al contentious wranglers, and namely in this word *Iustifie*, Which because they finde sometime to signifie the acquiting of a guilty man of some crime where of he is in deede guilty, & for which he ought to be condemned . . . they falsly make it so signifie in this place and the like, wheresoeuer man is said to be iustified of God for his workes or otherwise: as though it were said, that God iustifieth man, that is to say, imputeth to him the iustice of Christ, though he be not in deede iust: or of fauour reputeth him as iust, when in deede he is wicked, impious, and vniust. (pp. 387–88)

Martin's phrase, 'the equiuocation of certaine wordes', is a brilliant realisation of the linguistic energy unleashed by Tyndale's translation. For Tyndale had incorporated into the natural English idiom of 'righteousness' his sense of the original meanings embodied in the Hebrew and Greek terms. The Latinate word 'iustifie' was not immune to this effect. In Tyndale's English, to 'iustifie' had become identical with the paradoxical force of that perverse usage in Hebraised Greek, δικαιοῦσθαι τὸν ἄσεβῆ. For Tyndale makes this mean precisely not *iustum facere* but *ṣādaq*.

It is in the terms of Romans 4:5, the God that justifies, that Tyndale finally justifies God. For in his terms, in complete contradistinction to Martin, God exactly 'reputeth him as iust, when in deede he is . . .

vniust'. This is the meaning of the English word 'righteous', which he attempts to ingrain on the language. Martin recognises the power of this usage even as he labours to suppress it. At Romans 4:5 his marginal gloss invokes on behalf of the counterrevolutionary force of his Latinate infiltration the alternative theology of Latin semantics: 'The word *Reputed*, doth not diminish the truth of the iustice, as though it were reputed for iustice, being not iustice in deede, but signifieth, that as it was in it self, so God esteemed & reputed it' (p. 391).

Ironically, it is in Martin's margins that the creativity of Tyndale's English is most clearly revealed. Retrospectively, Martin understands the radical spirit which Tyndale had breathed into the old and familiar form of the Old English word 'rihtwis' and its more parvenu rival 'iustifie'. A word which at the beginning of the century was common currency had become by its end a controversial weapon. Martin seems to have felt that merely to use the vernacular term was to give away the battle. His 'iustice' is a fifth column in the way of the enemy. With longer hindsight, we can see that Martin's rearguard action on behalf of Latinity, in this respect, failed. Tyndale's dialect of 'righteousness' echoes within modern usage—Christian and non-Christian—with a constantly radical sound.

Notes

1. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1, 22–5, *The Poems of John Milton*, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (Longman, London, 1968), p. 462.

2. Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, line 15, in *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, vol. 3.i, ed. Maynard Mack (Methuen, London, 1950), p. 14.

3. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Thomas Newton, 2 vols, 7th ed. (London, 1770), p. 11. Newton's edition was first published in 1749, sixteen years after the first edition of the *Essay*.

4. Samuel Johnson, *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. A. Murphy, 12 vols (London, 1823), 6, p. 161.

5. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Newton, p. 11.

6. The complex linguistic archæology of the multifarious terms for justification in a variety of languages is examined in Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 2 vols (University of Cambridge Press, Cambridge, 1986); for further explanation, see esp. vol. 1, ch. 1, and the extensive bibliography in McGrath's notes.

7. David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* (University of Cambridge Press, Cambridge, 1967), p. 99.

8. For a definition, see Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, V (1136a).

9. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–2.

10. McGrath, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 195, n. 29.

11. William Tyndale, *The New Testament: A Reprint of the 1534 Edition with the Translator's Prefaces and Notes and the Variants of the 1525 Edition*, ed. N. Hardy Willis (Royal Society of Literature, Cambridge, 1939), p. 322.

12. *The Byble / which is all the holy Scripture: In whych are containyed the Olde and Newe Testament truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew. Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycence* (London, 1537). The version of Joshua–2 Chronicles in 'Matthew's Bible' is generally assumed to be Tyndale's.

13. Margeret Aston, 'Lollardy and Literacy', in *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (Hambledon Press, London, 1984), p. 200.

14. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, ed. S. R. Cattley and C. Townsend, 8 vols (London, 1837–1841, reprinted AMS Press, 1965), 4, p. 218 [hereafter *A & M*]; see also J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414–1520* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1965), p. 91.

15. David Daniell speculates on this connection in *William Tyndale: A Biography* (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1994), pp. 15–16.

16. Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), p. 53.

17. Daniell, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–77.

18. Summarised in *A & M*, 4, pp. 617–19; for a recent account, see Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989), pp. 106–8.

19. *A & M*, 4, p. 618; Foxe says he acquired the story from a sermon by Latimer.

20. Quoted in Aston, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

21. Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 and 114; Aston, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

22. *A & M*, 4, p. 238; see also pp. 235 and 239.

23. A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, rev. ed. (Fontana, London), pp. 29 and 52.

24. Daniell, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–42, rightly admiring the phrase, considers it Tyndale's own.

25. All references to the Wycliffite texts are taken from *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and the New Testaments . . . in the Earliest English Versions Made From the Latin Vulgate by John Wyclif and his Followers*, ed. Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, 4 vols (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1850).

26. The history of the medieval Latin word occupies most of McGrath, *op. cit.*, 1; for an outline, see pp. 9–16.

27. A detailed account of Augustine's interpretation of *iustificare* is given in McGrath, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 17–36.

28. *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos*, 22 (*PL*, 35, 2066).

29. *De diversis questionibus ad Simplicianum*, 1, ii, 3 (*CC*, 44, 28). For a later example, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, 4, 13 (*PL*, 44, 889).

30. McGrath, *op. cit.*, 1, 14.

31. *The seconde boke of Moses called Exodus* and *The fyfte boke of Moses called Deuteronomye*, both printed by Hoochstraten in Antwerp in 1530. All references to Tyndale's Pentateuch are taken from Hoochstraten's five 1530 imprints.

32. Tyndale version from *The Byble* (1537) ['Matthew's Bible'].

33. *OED* RIGHTEOUS *v.* (1340, Hampole Psalter).

34. *MED* RIGHTWISEN (*b*) (1500 [c. 1340]).

35. 62b.

36. *New Testament*, ed. Hardy Willis, p. 297.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

38. *OED* JUSTIFY 3 & 5. Both of these senses are datable to the late fourteenth century onwards. See also *MED* JUSTIFIEN 3 and 6.

39. Acts 21 Henry VIII (1529), c. 19, § 2. See *OED* JUSTIFY 7a; JUSTIFICATION 5a.

40. *OED* 5b, 5c, 6a, 7a, 9a.

41. Galatians 5:5 looks like a mistranslation ('to be iustified thorow fayth' for ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνης); in James 1:20, to get round the oddness of phrasing, he prefers 'that which is ryghteous before God' to the more literal 'the righteousness of God', perhaps because this technical term looks out of place in the context.

42. Ælfric also uses the verb *gerihtwisan* and the noun *gerihtwisung*, commonly replaced in postconquest English by 'iustifien' and 'iustification'; see H. MacGillivray, *The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English*, Studien zur englischen Philologie, 8 (Halle, 1902), pp. 148–58.

43. Acts 17:31 ('equite'); Romans 8:10 ('iustefiung') and Romans 9:28 ('equyte'). The Wycliffite also follows the Vulgate at 1 John 3:10 (*Omnis, qui non est iustus*).

44. *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Versions*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt, Vol. 1: Text (Longman, London, 1995), C Text, XIX, 282. See *MED* RIGHTWISNES(SE).

45. John A. Alford, *Piers Plowman: A Glossary of Legal Diction* (D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1988), p. 137.

46. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, F905-7, in *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Riverside Press, Cambridge, MA, 1957), p. 499.

47. Sir Thomas Malory, *The Tale of King Arthur*, 1, iii-v; *Works*, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971), p. 7.

48. *The Tale of King Arthur*, 4, xxiii; *Works*, p. 104.

49. *The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyones*, 10, xiv; *Works*, p. 364.

50. *Pearl*, ed. E. V. Gordon (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1953), lines 595-96.

51. Cicero, *Rhetoricum libri duo*, II, 53; Justinian, *Institutio*, I, 1.

52. Gordon, Note to lines 665-66, citing as example *The Prick of Conscience*, 6891. See also 'Right and Reason', in Alford, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

53. The meaning of this variant is discussed at length by Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

54. *New Testament*, ed. Hardy Willis, p. 302.

55. The one exception is Deuteronomy 32:4, where the duplication in the Hebrew forces Tyndale to employ 'iuste' as a synonym: 'both rightuous and iuste is he'.

56. The Geneva Bible, subsequently followed by the AV, preferred the reading 'Noah was a iuste and vpriht man'.

57. The noun form 'justification' is not in fact used by Tyndale in his New Testament as a translation for either δικαίωσις or δικαίωμα, as it is in the AV (see Romans 4:25, 5:16, 5:18).

58. *The New Testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfully into English out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in diuers languages* (Iohn Fogny, Rheims, 1582), B1^r.

59. MED JUSTICE, *Secretum Secretorum*. The MED also cites Chaucer, *Melibee*, B2599: 'God, which that is ful of iustice and of rightwisnesse'.

John Bale and the Use of English Bible Imagery¹

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English Protestant writers in the last decade of Henry VIII's reign had a difficult path to tread. On the one hand they had been encouraged since the mid-1530s to develop acerbic criticisms of papal power, criticisms that Henry VIII's regime had, for its own reasons, been keen to hear.² However, hopes they may have harboured that this would lead to a full repudiation of Catholic authority were to be doomed to disappointment. Rather, the last decade of Henry's reign witnessed a conservative reaction rendering the position of many of the more outspoken Protestant reformers highly perilous. Faced with this predicament, English Protestant writers were hardly silent. Instead they reached for a framework of carefully camouflaged references whereby they could explore their growing discontent at the distressful turn in royal policy while remaining overtly loyal.

One principal exponent of this technique was the prolific author John Bale. Already well established as one of the founding fathers of English Protestant vernacular prose, Bale regarded the apparent retreat from evangelical religion with alarm.³ But this disappointment did not stop the flow of his remarkably prolific writing nor did it lead him into a forthright denunciation of the Henrician regime. The overt resistance rhetoric of the later Marian exiles was a product of despair; at this point Protestants still hoped for a turn for the better, even while they viewed with growing anxiety the prominence of Catholic counsellors such as Stephen Gardiner.⁴ In this most difficult situation, writers such as Bale sought guidance and inspiration in the Bible, particularly the Old Testament. The Bible provided a template for comprehending the turn of fortune they had experienced: had not the people of Israel similarly been tormented with a succession of idolatrous kings? But the Bible also gave a frame of reference for Bible readers. At the

same time as Bale's text remained overtly and ostentatiously loyal, use of biblical imagery could point the alert reader to more trenchant criticisms of the regime. These are often subtle enough to escape the modern reader, but one may surmise that Bale's biblically literate audience would have fully understood their import. Bale's perception of the political reality of the times in which he lived, especially of the place of Henry VIII in this world, was expressed in Bale's own polemical use of the Bible's images.

When polemicists came to express the conflict of loyalties between religion and the king, they did so in terms of a battle between good and evil known as two-Church theory. The importance of two-Church theory in understanding the use of imagery in Bale's writings can hardly be overstated. All Bale's mature writings are underpinned by a theology which asserted that it was possible to divide humanity between the followers of Christ's true Church and adherents of the false Church of Antichrist. The spiritual battle of good and evil was enacted throughout history in the persons of each church. Membership of each body was ideological rather than institutional; in effect it extrapolated William Tyndale's congregation of true Christians back across history, in one case as far back as the first division of humanity with Cain and Abel.⁵ This had a great effect on the use of nomenclature, which became a way not merely to abuse or compliment, but a means whereby a subject could be placed in the true Church or the false. To be called Herod, for instance, did not merely mean a man was arrogant, cruel, and capricious, though this was certainly part of the inference; rather it meant that this individual was part of Herod's church, an ally of the historically pervasive force of Antichrist. The names of biblical and historical characters became descriptive of both specific characters from the past and badges of spiritual affiliation in the present. The use of scriptural imagery by Protestants in order to describe the contemporary world was facilitated by their belief in the nature of scriptural truth. Bale's kinship with the Apostles was a doctrinal one; he professed a belief in the immutable truth of Scripture, the same truth that the Apostles had believed. The true Church was unified by one pure doctrine. This replaced any claim to a historical genealogy via an institutional Church.⁶ Doctrine could not change or progress, even if the institutional Church tried to cite the continuity

of its historical existence as authority. The Word was the one constant, immovable truth of all ages and for all ages. It was this attribute that justified the use of scriptural imagery to describe the contemporary world.

Within this contemporary world, reformers admitted the need for a royal ally, whose power and authority could be used against that of the Pope. Bale took his lead from Tyndale in this respect, emphasising the obedience due from subjects to their king; in fact Bale lifted virtually whole sections from Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man* and placed them into the text of his 1538 play *Kynge Johan*. A comparison of the two texts shows their similarities. The first passage is by Tyndale; the second, by Bale:

God hath made the king in every realm judge over all, and over him there is no judge. He that judgeth the king judgeth God; and he that layeth hands on the king layeth hand on God, and he that resisteth a king, resisteth God and damneth God's law and ordinance.

For in his own realm a kynge is judge over all, By God's appoyntment, and none maye hym iudge agayne but the Lorde himself: In this the Scripture is playne, He that condempneth a kynge condempneth God without dought, He that harmeth a kynge, to harme God goeth about, he that a prynce resisteth, doth dampne God's ordinaunce.⁷

Kings were divinely appointed, possessing an authority inviolate to the actions or criticisms of their subjects. The nature of this authority made obedience to a king a religious duty, a due to the God who appointed the king; but there were limits to this loyalty. Reformers had always limited royal authority by the obedience demanded by God's law. The practice was derived from biblical models. Tyndale had asserted that the king was a servant to the law and should not rule according to his own imagination.⁸ Implicit in Bale's play *Kynge Johan* was the same idea. Realising the need for royal authority to oppose the Papacy, Bale cited David, 'A strong David at the voyce of verytie great Goliath the Pope he strake down'.⁹ This implied a subjection of the king's will to God's Word. The account in 1 Samuel 18:47 was explicit. David's success was not due to personal virtue or attributes, but to his

subservience to God's will: 'The battle is the Lord's and he will deliver you into our hands'. The two-Church battle was of Christ and Antichrist, and though kings could help the cause, the war could be ultimately won only by the Word of God.¹⁰ A similar implication was clear in the identification of Henry as 'Joshua' and 'Moses'.¹¹ As a warrior of the Word, the king was its servant. His duty was to create conditions in his realm conducive to the preaching of the Word; Bale thought so, and so did Tyndale. Kings had a duty to read the Scriptures so they could counteract the clerical usurpations of God's authority; kings were meant to enforce God's law in their lands, which included the suppression of idolatry.¹² But no king merely by virtue of his crown was necessarily a true Christian; if he dissented from God's Word he placed himself outside the true Church, and as a result in Antichrist's Church. Just as the papal office had not protected the popes from being excluded from the congregation, in the same way the high office of royalty could not give immunity to a king whose life was immoral and whose religion was erroneous. In other words royal authority could not seek by proclamation or statute alone to justify as valid pronouncements that reformers thought conflicted with their own belief in *sola scriptura*.

This was an issue that became pressing to English Protestants only when the Supremacy allowed the king to authorise the Act of Six Articles. The Supremacy allowed in practice, even if it was not directly stated in theory, that the king's office gave him the authority to determine the doctrinal orthodoxy within the English church, a point no reformer would ever have admitted to be valid. John Bale did not consider that the Six Articles had been made Christian merely because the papal bull had been replaced with the authority of the Supremacy: 'The vi blasphemouse articles collected out of the Popes decrees . . . enacted and established with more tyranny than ever undre the Romyshe Pope or any other tyrant'.¹³

Yet despite this criticism of the king's laws, an initial inspection suggests a reluctance on Bale's part to recognise that the king was personally responsible for the active persecution of the reformers or the enforcement of the Six Articles, which were the machinery of that persecution. This reluctance may have been founded upon the continuing belief that royal authority was inviolate to the criticisms of subjects.

However, Bale was also aware of the threat of prosecution. The Act of Six Articles was enforced with a treason act that encompassed all those who dared to call Henry a heretic or a schismatic.¹⁴ Protestant writers must also have wanted to retain the possibility of renewed favour with the king. It is easy only with hindsight to see how hopeless this aspiration was. But Henry's authority, as in the 1530s, was still the only office with sufficient political jurisdiction to redirect the English church in a Protestant direction. The continual exhortations and pleas to the king by Bale are comprehensible only if one appreciates that whatever Henry's involvement was in the Six Articles, Protestants believed that the personal nature of the Supremacy would enable the king to change the religious settlement at will. If the king could keep the Church Catholic he could also reform it according to another orthodoxy. While exile Protestants still believed that they had something to hope for from Henry VIII, they were loathe to abandon their professions of loyalty to him or to be critical or insulting to him openly.

It was this hope that allowed the Protestant polemicists to adopt the evil counsellor argument. The evil counsellor argument was a fiction that placed the onus for unpopular legislation enacted under the king's rule with his counsellors, in an attempt to avoid the necessity of criticising the royal office itself. It disassociated the king from his own laws, and for Protestant polemicists in exile at this time, it was a way of reconciling political loyalty to the king, while admitting religious dissent. The evil of the religious settlement had to be explained but not in terms of opposition to a king. In the attempt to find scapegoats Bale criticised the king's religious settlement by blaming it on the bishops. To this end he writes that the prelates should be revealed for what they were: 'Shameless lyers agaynst God and his word'. This task would be fulfilled with Bale's writing: 'some with penne . . . so bringing them [antichristian bishops] out of theyr olde estimacyon, lest they shulde still regne in the peoples consciences'.¹⁵ In his *Epistle*, Bale, in the desire to show the evil of the prelates, constructs a more comprehensive explanation for the beguiling of the king by unscrupulous counsellors. A Tyndaleian-style conspiracy theory maintained that the Protestants were the king's natural allies, and the Roman Catholics, especially the Roman Catholic clergy, his natural enemy. Antichrist was manifest in all nations, but in England he was in the popish bishops,

their clergy, and all rebels to the king. The clergy conspired to maintain their jurisdiction and false doctrine by encouraging religious error and obscurantism among the people and enforced this by misleading the king into supporting their religion. The unity of Antichrist had been manifested in the Six Articles and the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace. Those professing the gospel had been the obedient subjects, those who had not rebelled against Henry because they had the law of God written on their hearts. Tyndale's books typified this, Bale wrote, as they preached obedience and had won the king many true friends. The conclusion was that Bale's type of reformer was one of a kind who were 'God's true servauntes and the kynges faythfull subjectes'.¹⁶ Bale exonerated the king, blaming the 'cruel Hamans', his counsellors. In the book of Ester, Haman had been a counsellor who had conspired to destroy the people of God by misleading the king (Ester 3–8). The battle for survival by God's people, united by the Scriptures against a persecuting faction, was an exemplar that could be used to describe all persecutions of Protestants by their Catholic enemies. Doubtless Bale thought the comparison apt, though by inference this made Henry King Ahaseuras, the dupe of his false counsellor, a comparison that Henry would not have found complimentary. Bale reminded the king of his reforming initiatives of the 1530s and hoped he would return to them. Henry was 'Jehosaphat', a godly king but one who had allowed vestiges of idolatry to remain in his kingdom. In this context 1 Kings 22:18–28, where the story of Jehosaphat is related, was further to the purpose of Bale's example. The biblical account stated that the reason Jehosaphat's reform of religion had been incomplete was that he had condemned the true prophet Micaiah and favoured the false prophets instead. This reasserted the message that those subjects who followed true religion proved their allegiance to the true God and that this primary loyalty served the best interests of a king who was appointed by that God. Religion was the criterion in deciding whether subjects were loyal or not and whether their counsel was good or bad. Protestants were the true subjects and as a result they gave the best counsel, even though that advice might be what the king least wanted to hear. A true counsellor dared to tell a king the truth to his face. But if honest counsel failed, there was always prayer. In Bale's *Epistle* of 1544, he cited Proverbs 21, 'The heart of a king is in the

hands of God and at his pleasure he may evermore turn it'. The work began with a plea that God would 'open thoroughly the eyes of our most worthy and noble kynge (as he hath already begonne)'. Though there was a censorious tone in this writing, the overall effect was of a subject eager to profess his loyalty to his king and to be given a chance of showing it.

Not surprisingly, scholars have found it hard to credit the picture of Henry that writers like Bale were depicting: that though the king was inclined to reform in his heart, he had somehow been deceived into a contrary course by evil counsel. As a result they accuse Bale of deceit, of willingly blinding his own judgement in the attempt to maintain an untenable theory of obedience to a king who was persecuting Bale's coreligionists. Nowhere is this more the case than in T. Blatt's study of Bale's plays, in which Bale's attitude to Henry VIII is described as 'at all times flattering and even obsequious'.¹⁷ But surely this is overly simplistic. The evil counsellor argument was a method Bale used to disguise his own discussion of what he considered to be the limits of royal authority. A close examination of polemicists' texts makes it clear that they meant more than they were saying explicitly with regard to the responsibility of Henry in the religious persecution in England. But if Henry was to be criticised it would be safer to do so covertly. The use of biblical imagery to conceal criticism had obvious advantages. It could be used ambiguously and thus would leave little evidence that could not easily be denied in the event of capture and prosecution. Secondly, the allusions of biblical imagery would be most apparent to the very people for whom the Protestant polemicists were writing: Bible-reading dissenters. By studying Bale's use of biblical imagery and the precise places he used it, one obtains a quite different perception of Henry VIII from that normally ascribed to Protestant writers. No longer was Henry merely deceived; rather he was a willing accomplice in the irreligious policies formed against the godly, a king whose acts stained the sanctity of his royal office.

Bale's method of concealment was ingenious. He used biblical imagery and a syncretism of historical periods, deliberately blurring the divisions between the examples of the Bible and those of his own century. One aspect of this was to replace Henry's name with that of a biblical character, often one who had previously been used as an

example to praise him: 'Springing now out of Eckius' old divinity, and Winchester's new Canon laws, hath brought upon David, for all his wonderful victory over the lion, bear and Philistine, the plagues promised for such ungodliness'.¹⁸ There was a deliberate juxtaposing of the biblical account and a sixteenth-century issue here, in this case the enforcement of clerical celibacy. But to trace the full import of Bale's image, the reader needed to consult the marginalia, which referred him to references in his own Bible. The first citation was to 1 Kings 17 (which according to modern biblical ordering is 1 Samuel 17). This recounts the victories of David over Israel's enemies, including Goliath. It thus restates the biblical exemplar used five years earlier to describe Henry in Bale's play *Kynge Johan*. But there was obviously something wrong, as the next margin note to Deuteronomy 28 threatened 'unimaginable plagues' to anyone who disregarded the law of God. This divinely apportioned ruin and decay is then related to King David by the next margin note to 2 Kings (2 Samuel) 12. In this, Nathan threatens the posterity of David's house, because of David's adultery with Bathsheba, that had flouted God's law. How, Bale asked rhetorically, could the king be ignorant of what the world knew, of the disgrace he allowed to be wrought on the gospel by his prelates? As if to confirm his accusation of guilt against Henry, Bale cited 2 Kings (Samuel) 16, the cursing of David by Bahurim on the orders of God. Obviously Bale did not think kings should be seen as immune to the criticism of their subjects, at least not the godly subjects. But by 1543, Henry had gone further than a fallen David ever had: 'Thus are they plagued that follow yll counsel' reads the margin note, and allusions are made to Henry VIII's ideological heritage with a whole series of bad kings from the Old Testament, kings who according to the theology of the two Churches were part of the false Church of Antichrist: 'With soche holy counsellors (as yow are) nowadays were Ioram, Achab, Ochosias, Ioachim, Sedechias and other kings more of Israel and Juda deceyved and brought into the great indignacyon of God'.¹⁹

In the space of one page the image of Henry as David the champion of God had been replaced by David the fallen sinner and Achab the enemy of God. Nor was this an isolated outburst. On signature A4^v Bale described Edmund Bonner's persecution of Tolwyn in London in 1541, when Tolwyn had been persecuted for his possession of

what the Henrician regime termed heretical books. Recanters, he said, had sought help at the power of Pharaoh and comfort in the shadow of the Egyptians. Marginalia drew the readers' attention to Hosea 7:

They have not kept faith. (v. 1) Now their deeds beset them and stare me in the face. They win over the king with their treachery (v. 2). On their king's festal day the officers begin to be inflamed with wine and he joins in the orgies of arrogant men.

On a later page in the same book the text read: 'For hys laws mynyster they the doctrine of devils'. The margin note to Psalm 118 advised: 'Better it is to seek refuge in the Lord than to trust in mortal man, better to seek refuge in the Lord than to trust in princes'.²⁰ This was advice that kings themselves should take to heart; trust in God, not in oneself. A margin note to Psalm 18 two lines above reinforced this idea, since this psalm sees David putting all his hopes in the hands of God, an identification which was a bit of wishful thinking on Bale's part concerning Henry VIII. Defining the limits of Henry's authority, Bale qualified the validity of all secular laws by how far they adhered to the precepts of God's law, which had the prior claim to a Christian's loyalty. A law conducive to the commonwealth was one conducive to God's law, and those outside it were but private laws and manifestations of violence and tyranny.²¹ In discussing the limits of a ruler's authority, Bale cited a list of biblical references dealing with the position of a small body of the faithful under the rule of a heathen king: 1 Maccabees 2 recounted the story of the resistance of Mattathias and his sons to King Antiochus's officers, who were enforcing apostasy from the Jewish religion throughout Judah. In 2 Maccabees 6, Antiochus sent a senator to compel the Jews to forsake their laws and to profane the temple in Jerusalem. The Jewish population were forced to take part in these irreligious acts, and those who refused were slain. Eleazar the priest refused to dissimulate, preferring instead to give an example of martyrdom than to mislead others by seeming to accommodate with the regime. There was surely a message here for Bale's coreligionists. Antiochus from 1 Maccabees was mentioned in three out of the ten footnotes.²² Other examples included Jerico's king in Joshua 2, who ordered Rahab to betray Joshua's scouts to him, but Rahab deceived him;

and Pharaoh's order in Exodus 1 to kill all newborn Hebrew children and the refusal of the Hebrew midwives to obey this order. Obviously these texts were a hidden commentary on the just nature of passive resistance to a king whose orders were in contravention of the purpose of God.

Bale's use of the accounts from Maccabees addressed what he considered to be the irreligious attitude taken by the Henrician regime to religious imagery. Bale considered all sacred images to be idols and any who paid what they thought 'due reverence' to them were actually guilty of idolatry. As a result, Bale was in favour of a policy of vigorous iconoclasm. From early 1539 though, the Henrician regime had sought to restrain overenthusiastic iconoclasts. Henry himself was personally involved in the composition of the 1543 King's book, which had justified the existence of those images that were not abused with false worship, as didactic objects. The imposition of a distinction between image and idol in the Henrician religious formularies did not escape the notice of polemicists like Bale, who considered the division false.²³ In his *The actes of Englysh votaryes*, published in 1546, Bale recounted the history of King Canute, who in AD 1036 had made known his intent to offer his crown to God's kingship as a sign that the Lord God was the source of his royal authority. But Canute was as gullible as he was foolish, for he yielded to the suggestions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Egelnothus, who succeeded in persuading the king to offer his crown to the rood of Winchester instead. For Bale the incident served to demonstrate how a king could forfeit his royal status on earth by denying the true source of his preeminence, which was God above: 'A playne token is it that they were than [*sic*] the Images of the Beasts, and no godlye governors, yea verye Idolles and no Kinges, that were undre such ghostly fathers'.²⁴

All of these citations made their references to Henry VIII implicit rather than explicit. It was a method of concealed communication discernible not just in the marginalia, but in the main body of the text itself, by the use of a literary pattern. A eulogy of Henry VIII, frequently mentioning him by name, often precedes or follows a passage that criticises his counsellors. Criticism of counsellors is then linked to a metaphor of a scriptural image, including evil counsellors and a biblical king. Once again we have the juxtaposition of the contemporary

and biblical situations, and thereby a didactic question is posed. Thus in the *Epistle*, Henry is praised as a noble king and his blindness blamed on his malicious advisors. These men were akin to 'other false priests of Egypt who persuaded Pharaoh to withstand the pleasure of God'.²⁵ But if Henry's priests were akin to Pharaoh's priests, who was Henry's ideological ancestor in this situation? The obvious and unstated answer seems to be Pharaoh, his heart hardened against God's will. Henry was afterwards praised once more as a great reformer. This literary pattern is discernible in at least five of Bale's texts printed over the period 1543–1546.²⁶ For example, in the preface to the *First Examination of Anne Askew*, Bale deliberately blurs the distinction between one time period of history and another to make a comparison between Henry VIII and Herod. Bale compares the virtuous deaths of Anne Askew and John Lassels in July 1546 to the deaths of John the Baptist and James the Apostle:²⁷

These two were excellent afore God: what though they were but miserable wretches, light fellows, seditious heretics, busy knaves, and lousy beggars in the sight of noble king Herod and his honourable council of prelates? For had not rochets and side-gowns been at hand haply they had not so lightly died.

On the next page the blame for the persecutions is put once more upon the clergy, who were seeking to overturn the king's most godly enterprises.²⁸ In all these cases Bale did not denounce the king by name, but he came very close to doing so in *The Image Of Both Churches*. This was Bale's commentary on the book of Revelation addressed to the faithful in England. It was an attempt to explain the process of history in terms of the biblical verity of Revelation. But it was also an indictment of the political state in England. In the 1530s Bale's view of the state as a curber of vice had been derived from Pauline writings on authority and obedience, most notably Romans. *The Image* presented the Johannine view of the state as the embodiment of all those evils, which by its nature, the state was founded to suppress; primary amongst these was false religion, the mother of all vices. *The Image* made clear and extremely vitriolic references to the state of England and her king:

When they once set up in the place of a godly governor, a cruel murderer of God's people, by flattering praises to encourage them to all mischief, and by wicked counsel to prick them forward to cruel acts of murder for the upholding of their beastly generation; the spirit that they minister unto princes is not the correction of vices, but to uphold them in their evils. Much after this sort of speaking: 'Your majesties or graces are most wise, most worthy and best learned among all Christian potentates. If it be your majesties pleasure to do this or that in your own dominions whom shall be so bold as to withstand you. No though God's law be an hundred times against it, support the old religion of Holy church against the heretics . . . let it be treason if they do but once speak against her corrupt customes . . . make cruel constitutions apace, to show your self the Pope's lively image'.²⁹

The identification of religious nonconformity as treason 'if they do but once speak against it' was deliberately reminiscent of the Six Articles and its penalty that allowed no recantation for revilers of the mass.³⁰ There were also clear references to Henry VIII in the deliberate ambiguity 'majesties or graces'. Henry was the first English king to use the title majesty instead of grace, as part of his pretensions to the status of emperor.³¹ Bale seemed unsure of which to use. This title did not bother Bale so much as Henry's religious title, for which he reserved his full invective, describing it as

[one of the] blasphemous titles of Antichrist as to call them . . . defenders of the Catholic faith, (Meaning the Pope's old traditions) surely this is none other but with the same Antichrist to receive authority seat and power of Satan.³²

This continued with a warning that the king's title of supreme head of the Church was analogous to the head of the beast.³³ What Bale must have found particularly distressing was that in the Act for the Advancement of True Religion, the king had used his authority to restrict the number of English people who would be allowed access to Scripture. This had been a triumph for the false Church, and the king had made it possible.

Though kings were now the enemy, Bale preached only passive resistance. He laid the cause of the godly before the judgement of God and the action of his providence, hoping for God's intervention. God's prime concern was not the survival of kings, except insofar as they served the health of his Church. According to the precedents of history, and because of God's providential plans for the two Churches, this made the king dispensable to the God who had appointed him. If the Church was to flourish and finally triumph, as Scripture said it must, no temporal king would be able to resist this plan. The ultimate triumph of the true Church was prophesied in the Book of Revelation, and God would get rid of any king who tried to impede this immutable prophecy. No potentate could be allowed to flout God's laws and his purpose forever. No longer was the hope only for a king who would change, but for a change of king. The hope became rooted in a final apocalyptic triumph in which God would confound his enemies and deliver the persecuted elect from tribulation.

The question is, for whom did Bale intend his message? This is a question all the more tantalising because it is largely unanswerable. The books were addressed to the faithful in England, and this community must have been thought to have had its own copies of the biblical text, or at least to have been familiar with them. The biblical margin notes in Bale's work were not a scholarly conceit; they were included as deliberate explications of the text itself. It seems reasonable to suggest therefore that Bale's works were written to be used in conjunction with the Bible. In Bale's case it would have been, and still is, impossible to understand his use of imagery or the full nature of his arguments without reference to a Bible. About the closest we can come to identifying readers of such literature is to recognise that during the reign of Henry's son its images and arguments were in use among many of the Protestant clerics. Reformers' efforts to express Edward's place in reform as 'Josiah' and other Old Testament kings are legion.³⁴ Often their use of this imagery suggested misgivings about the definition of royal authority in regard to religion; Bale was not alone in his fears of the ambiguous effects of royal patronage. The constant Catholic gibe that Edward was only a child relied on the argument that when he was older the Supremacy would allow him to turn Catholic and to reverse the Reformation on his own authority.

The amendment of the Act of Supremacy in 1547 allowed Edward to change the religious settlement made on his behalf during his minority, on reaching the age of twenty-four. The Catholic gibe was a good one: it cut to the core of the Protestants' anxiety, exhibited in exile, that secular authority, in the law and the person of the king, could subvert what they believed was the *sine qua non* of all truth. The spectre of the Supremacy haunted the reformers. The use of biblical examples was to confer praise but also to suggest limitations of the Supremacy's applications, limitations that the Supremacy itself did not admit. Implicit in the use of biblical kings was the Bible's limitation of royal authority by divine law. As late as 1550 Bishop John Hooper counselled Edward to persevere in Reformation.³⁵ Hugh Latimer preached that Absalom was proof that God would not work with private authority that went against his will.³⁶ In 1549 Latimer told Edward that he did not have to walk in the footsteps of his father and cited the example of Josiah, who had 'reformed his father's ways who walked in idolatry'.³⁷ Not only did this show what many reformers really thought of Henry, it argued for a common understanding of the biblical imagery used to express it.

Bale was a writer of history, but like Tyndale he saw history as the similitude that expressed in concealed images the truths of Scripture.³⁸ That God's Word was the ultimate reality that underlay history allowed John Bale to simplify contemporary events. The dilemma of how to reconcile loyalty to the Word with loyalty to an apostate king was not a new debate, even in the 1530s and 1540s. Bale could derive comfort from his own identification with the apostle John in Revelation, as one of the persecuted godly. The question of ultimate authorities became resolved in one of the oldest battles in history, that of the two Churches. Bale labelled his enemies in biblical imagery derived from this diametric confrontation. The fate of the English church became part of this larger battle. Royal authority was based on a subjection to the divine truth from which it was derived. This allowed Bale to argue that a king could deny the fount of his own authority if he used his power to initiate religious changes that were ungodly. However, Bale seemed unwilling to advocate open resistance to a king; he consistently loathed the idea as irreligious, even during the Marian exile. The dichotomy, even in late works, between censure of Henry and petitioning for the king's

favour was a mark of not only Bale's writing.³⁹ Protestants had nothing to gain from offending a king who might one day turn from his error back to the truth, especially if an offence might send him back to an alliance with Rome. *The Image* was a systematic attempt that invited Protestants to discern how scriptural prophecy explained why the godly were persecuted and precisely who and what it was that was persecuting them. As a result, biblical imagery became expressive of more than picturesque allusions to ethical lessons; rather it became part of a worldview. It became the vocation of the true Church to endure suffering as their Lord and as St John of Patmos had endured. Passive resistance to the king's evil thus became part of the worldview held by men who identified the Bible as the source of truth, because of its source in God.

Notes

1. This paper was delivered at the St Andrews Reformation Seminar in January 1994 and at the first international Tyndale Conference, September 1994.

2. G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation* (Arnold, London, 1977), pp. 174–200, 231–72; G. Walker, 'Radical Drama: John Bale's King John', in *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991), pp. 178–87.

3. For literature dealing with John Bale, see the biography by L. P. Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (Purdue University Press, West Lafayette, IN, 1976); H. McCusker, *John Bale Dramatist and Antiquary* (Bryn Mawr, PA, 1942; reprint, Books for Libraries Press, Freeport, NY, 1971), pp. 1–28, 72–96, which deals with the relationship between Bale and Secretary Cromwell, and the plays that Bale wrote for Cromwell in the 1530s. For a good overall summary, including an account of Bale's exile from 1540 onwards, see W. T. Davies, 'A Bibliography of John Bale', in *Oxford Bibliographical Society*, 5 (1940), pp. 201–79.

4. The Marian exiles were the first to cut the Gordian knot of the resistance theory, advocating active resistance to ungodly magistrates rather than passive resistance, as previous Protestant apologists had done. See J. Ponet, *A shorte Treatise of politicke power* [Strasburg? 1556], (STC 20178). This treatise advocated the deposition of a godless ruler. See also W. Turner, *The new booke of Spirituall Physik* [Emden, 1554], (STC 24361); and J. Knox, *First blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous regiment of women* [1558]. These were tracts for troubled times that later Protestants were to be rather ashamed of, especially in Elizabeth's England. For the reaction of Elizabeth I to Knox's work advocating

active resistance to tyrannical rulers, see P. Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (Hambledon Press, London, 1983), p. 206.

5. J. Bale, *The actes of the englyshe votaryes* [A. Vele, London, 1551], sig. A7^r (STC 1273).

6. On two-Church theology, see R. Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse* (Sutton Courtenay, Abingdon, Oxford, 1978), pp. 54–91; and K. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530–1645* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1979), pp. 42–53.

7. W. Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, hereafter *Obedience*, in H. Walter, ed., *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848), p. 177, hereafter PS I; and J. Bale, *King John*, in H. Pafford, ed. (Malone Society Reprints, 1931), lines 2299–2312.

8. W. Tyndale, *Obedience*, in PS I, 334. Also G. Joye, *Unite and scisme* [Widow of C. Ruremond, Antwerp, 1543], sig. B5^v (STC 14830).

9. J. Bale, *Kynge Johan: A play in two Partes* (compiled 1538), in J. S. Collier, ed. (Camden Society, Cambridge, 1838), p. 43.

10. J. Bale, *Yet a course at the romyshe foxe* [A. Goinus, Antwerp, 1543], sig. A6^v (STC 1309), hereafter *romyshe foxe*.

11. J. Bale, *A comedy concerning Three Laws of Nature* [1538], in J. S. Farmer, ed., *The Dramatic Writings Of John Bale* (London, 1907), p. 78, and *Kynge Johan*, p. 78.

12. W. Tyndale, *Obedience*, in PS I, 249. J. Bale, *Chief Promises of God Unto Man* [1538], in Farmer, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 109–15.

13. J. Bale, *The Epistle Exhortatorye of an Englyshe christiane* [A. Goinus, Antwerp, 1544?], sigs A5^v and 6^r (STC 1291).

14. J. Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988), p. 136.

15. J. Bale, *Epistle Exhortatorye of a Englyshe christiane*, sig. A3^r (STC 1291).

16. *Ibid.*, sigs A6^v–B1^r.

17. T. Blatt, *The Plays of John Bale* (Gad, Copenhagen, 1968), p. 38.

18. J. Bale, *romyshe foxe*, sig. K3^r.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*, sig. D3^v.

21. *Ibid.*, sigs M8^v–L1^r.

22. *Ibid.*, sig. L1^r.

23. M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988), pp. 236–43. On Henry VIII's role in the 1543 King's Book, particularly the section on images, see G. Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1990), pp. 170–71; J. Bale, *romyshe foxe*, sig. M6^v; W. Turner, *The rescuyng of the romysh fox otherwise called the examination of the hunter* [L. Mylius, Bonn, 1545], sigs F6^r–6^v, and H2^r (STC 24355). The latter work discusses the false division between the image and the idol and its correlation to the relation between due reverence and idolatry.

24. J. Bale, *The actes of the Englysh votaryes* [S. Mierdman, Antwerp, 1546], sigs 16^v–7^r (STC 1291), hereafter *votaryes*.

25. J. Bale, *Epistle Exhortatorye to an Englyshe Christiane*, sig. A4^r (STC 1291).

26. Discernable in *Yet a course at the romyshe foxe* (1543), *The Epistle* (1544), *The Image of both Churches* (1546), *The Examinations of Anne Askew* (1546), *The actes of the Englysh votaryes* (1546).

27. In Mark 6 and Acts 12 respectively.

28. J. Bale, *The Examinations of Anne Askew* (1546), in H. Christmas, *Select Works of Bishop Bale* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1849), pp. 139–40, hereafter *Select Works*.

29. J. Bale, *The Image Of Both Churches* [R. Jugge, London, 1550], in *Select Works*, pp. 443–44.

30. Article 1: 'any who contempt, deprive or despise the said blessed sacrament shall be adjudged heretics . . . shall suffer judgement, execution, pain of death by way of burning, without any objection to be therefore permitted . . . as in cases of high treason'. In C. Williams, ed., *English Historical Documents*, 5 (Methuen, London, 1967), p. 816.

31. The first use of the term *Majesty* was made in the statutes and proclamations of 1534. From the Latin term in Roman law *maiestas* (greatness, dignity, or majesty). See 'An Act for the exoneration from exactions paid to the see of Rome', 25 Henry VIII c. 21 1534, in *Statutes of the Realm*, 3 (1817), p. 464. Also 'An Act concernynge the kynges hyghness to be supreme head of the churche of Englande', Anno 26 Henry VIII, in *Statutes of the Realm*, 3 (1817), p. 492.

32. J. Bale, *Select Works*, p. 428.

33. *Ibid.*

34. J. N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1982), pp. 75, 161, 167, 175, 177, 185–86, 192, 426. The issue will be treated at some length in my forthcoming doctoral thesis—'Protestant Polemic and the Nature of Evangelical Dissent: 1538–1553'.

35. J. Hooper, 'Sermon to the court: Lent 1550', in C. Nevinson, ed., *Remains of Bishop Hooper* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1852), p. 437.

36. H. Latimer, 'Second sermon before king Edward the sixth', in H. Corrie, ed., *Sermons of Hugh Latimer* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1844), p. 115.

37. H. Latimer, 'Sermon of April 5th 1549', in H. Corrie, ed., *Sermons of Hugh Latimer*, p. 175.

38. J. Bale, *Select Works*, p. 253.

39. See G. Joye, *The exposition of Daniel the Prophete* [Antwerp, 1545] sigs E1^r, E3^r, and E7^r (STC 14823). J. Bale, *votaryes*, sig. E8^r.

Richard Taverner Revising Tyndale

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Most of what we know of Taverner's life is derived from Anthony à Wood¹ and John Bale.² According to Wood, Richard Taverner was born in Brisley in Norfolk in 1505. His university career began in Cambridge. Wood notes that Taverner left his studies in logic at Bennet College in Cambridge incomplete in order to get a place at Wolsey's prestigious Oxford College, where he obtained his B.A. in 1529. From there he went to Strond-Inn, one of the Chancery Inns in London, and then to the Inner-Temple.³ In 1532 he wrote to Thomas Cromwell to ask for his help, which Cromwell promptly gave.⁴ Taverner's first work for Cromwell, a translation of Erasmus's *Encomium Matrimonii*, was this same year. This was to be the first of many of his translations of Erasmus, Capito, Melanchthon, and Sarcerius, completed in the 1530s and early 1540s. Taverner was therefore in place in the official Protestant propaganda machinery at the start of official Protestantism in England. In 1539, at the height of his writing career, Taverner's Bible was printed by John Byddell for Thomas Berthelet.⁵

Aside from his literary duties, in 1537 Taverner was appointed a Clerk of the Signet by King Henry VIII. From 1538 to 1540 Taverner was in charge of Bankes's press, and in 1545 he was MP for Liverpool.⁶ In 1552 King Edward VI granted Taverner a licence to preach, which he is reported to have done both before King Edward and at St Mary's Oxford. And Elizabeth I made him High Sheriff of Oxford in 1569. Taverner died at Woodeaton on 14 July 1575.⁷

It may be helpful to begin this brief article with a nineteenth-century quotation that may be familiar to any scholar who has been initially intrigued by, but then deterred from spending any further time on, the 1539 Bible by Richard Taverner.

It would be tempting to dwell longer on this version, but it appears to have exercised no influence whatever on the later

revisions. It remains simply as a monument of one man's critical power, and in the very sharp personality of its characteristics is alien from the general history of the English Bible.⁸

Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott's *General View* of Taverner's Bible was exactly that. Westcott's reason for neglecting the Bible was that it appeared to have no influence on subsequent editions of the English Bible and that it was therefore not appropriate to his particular study. Indeed the fact that Bishop Westcott was tempted should have alerted subsequent students of the English Bible to this interesting version. Unfortunately, Westcott's description has had the opposite effect and has become an excuse to ignore Taverner's Bible. I open my discussion with the nineteenth-century quotation because, sadly, Taverner Bible studies have not significantly progressed from this general view in over a hundred years.

Taverner has suffered neglect because his version of the Bible has consistently been mistaken to be a correction of Tyndale's work in the Matthew Bible. Responses to Taverner have ranged between those who indignantly brush him aside as an unworthy would-be usurper of Tyndale's translation throne and those who make desperate attempts to justify Taverner's place in English Bible scholarship by indicating exactly where in the New Testament the Rheims and subsequent Authorised Version revisers agree with, and are therefore influenced by, Taverner.⁹ The problem with this approach is that while *influence* might be given some ground on the basis that Taverner's Greek for the New Testament was known to have been very good and that he might therefore have been consulted by other revisers, that ground has to be conceded when we attempt to argue for the Old Testament part of the Bible for which Taverner had no obvious Hebrew scholarship. Hence, the few proponents Taverner has had in the 460 years since the Bible was published have argued for his New Testament while excusing the Old.¹⁰

Taverner does not, by the evidence I have seen, show any signs of wishing to correct Tyndale against a Hebrew text. Taverner's fidelity generally is to English rather than Hebrew, using, as one reference, a Bible version he and every scholar knew best: a Vulgate. In any discussion of the English Bible we cannot ignore Bibles that attempted to be

more English than the Bible.¹¹ If there is an English Bible of the 1530s, it is Taverner's. It might be read as a testament to a developing English language in the sixteenth century, a tribute to the variety in the language at that time, and as an interesting document in any study of developing Protestant consciousness during early Tudor reformations.¹² In this article, however, I am going to suggest ways in which reading Taverner's version of Tyndale's Old Testament can reveal some inconsistencies in Tyndale's ascribed translation policies.

In his article 'On Translating the Old Testament: The Achievement of William Tyndale', which appeared in the maiden volume of *Reformation*, Michael Weitzman takes issue with Gerald Hammond's suggestion that Tyndale used Luther primarily but that he modified it with Hebrew elements. Weitzman summarises: 'In other words, his [Tyndale's] normal practice was to consult both the Hebrew and Luther's translation, so that he could combine the syntax of the former with the sense of the latter'.¹³ Weitzman's own argument is that if Tyndale had a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to enable him to make the changes Hammond suggests, then he should have had sufficient Hebrew to have translated directly from the Hebrew. Weitzman substantiates this first with Tyndale's own claim to have translated from the Hebrew 'word for word' and secondly with the detail of Tyndale's last request that his Hebrew grammar might be delivered to him in prison.¹⁴ After all of the evidence has been examined, are we not still left with only speculation and procedural hypotheses? If his reformist aim was to supplant one authority with another, Tyndale had to claim that his Bible was translated from a better authority than the Vulgate. And for political reasons it would have been lunacy to suggest it was taken from Luther. It is reasonable to consider that Tyndale was finding his way through Hebrew and becoming more fully acquainted with the mechanisms of the language during the process of attempting to translate it, as Weitzman confirms: 'The later translations occasionally show an improvement in Tyndale's Hebrew knowledge';¹⁵ but it is sensible to accept that his starting point must have been the Bibles with which he was already acquainted.

If Tyndale was translating from the Lutheran Bible for its sense, then, one might ask, why did he not make more sense more often? Why was it necessary for Richard Taverner and Miles Coverdale to

revise? One might argue that Tyndale's claim to have translated 'word for word' displayed a lack of confidence with the language, not more confidence, or that he was merely asserting the authority of his text by maintaining that it was God's Word. In any case, a dynamic translation, providing that it does not lapse into paraphrase, is the sign of a translator who is at ease with both source and target languages.

In this same article Weitzman argues:

It is true that Tyndale strove to accommodate the Hebrew form, as Hammond's studies have shown in detail. This must not, however, obscure the fact that where demands of form conflicted with those of content, Tyndale did not hesitate to opt for the latter.¹⁶

But actually Tyndale did hesitate and occasionally opted for the former; whatever his ambitions for the ploughboy may have been, Tyndale was sometimes more purist than pragmatist. Nowhere is this more readily illustrated than by the work of revisers of his translations, whose job it partly was to seek out knotty text and render a clear line of English. Richard Taverner produced the first full revision of the 1537 Matthew Bible. The 1539 revision by Coverdale, the Great Bible, cannot be regarded as a full revision since Coverdale's revising policy depended upon having notes to make meaning clear—notes that did not materialise. The Matthew Bible, you will remember, is particularly significant in any study of Tyndale's translating procedure, since it contains in his rendering of Joshua through 2 Chronicles some of Tyndale's last thoughts about translating biblical texts.

The statement that invariably accompanies Taverner's revision is that he was *correcting* Tyndale, using the Vulgate. This is an extraordinary thing for Taverner to be doing since he must have known *if* Tyndale had translated directly from the Hebrew.

Richard Taverner was an acknowledged Greek scholar and an experienced translator, but he was not a Hebraist. Taverner's revision of the last biblical translation of William Tyndale reveals that he was in agreement with Tyndale's evident translation principle of extending the range of the language employed in translation, to give both variety and colour to the English text, and that he was committed to removing

the excessive ecclesiastical vocabulary from the English Old Testament. Where Tyndale treads a precarious path between fidelity to an authoritative original and to a meaningful English text, Taverner's original is the 1537 Matthew Bible, and it is not surprising, therefore, that Taverner's fidelity is to the ideal of a *more meaningful* text for the English reader. Tyndale had rendered Joshua's exhortation to the invading Israelites at Joshua 6:18:

Tyndale: And in any wise beware of the excommunicate things, lest ye make yourselves excommunicate. For if you take of the excommunicate things, so shall you make the host of Israel excommunicate and shall trouble it.¹⁷

Tyndale, as Luther had done, follows the Hebrew in the repetition of the word *herem*. Inspired by the Vulgate, Taverner renders the line:

Taverner: And in any wyse beware that ye touche nothyng at all, that is forbyd you, lest ye be founde transgressoures, and cause all the hoste of Israel to be under curse and mysfortune.¹⁸

Notice the variety that Taverner here introduces into the language in his drive to remove the ecclesiastical insistence remaining in Tyndale's text. In Joshua 22:17 Tyndale's 'and there was a plague in the congregation of the lord' is replaced by Taverner with the simpler 'and moche people were slayne'.¹⁹

Taverner's work, noted by Bishop Westcott as characteristically concise and clear, represents an extension of Tyndale's own ambition for clarity, but an extension beyond the margin that Tyndale set himself between source and target languages. So, for instance, in Judges 19:22 when a gang of thugs beat at a man's door and demand that he bring out his Levite guest so that they may, in Tyndale, 'know him', Taverner specifies that this is not a friendly gesture, of the kind that is welcome, by replacing the euphemism with 'bring forth the man that came into thyne house that we maye playe buggery with him'. Taverner was not a Hebraist, but he does have a talent for realising the contexts of biblical narratives, and he gets closer to the sexual sense of *yada*, here, than any other English Bible of the sixteenth century.

In 'Yet once more to the Christian Reader',²⁰ Tyndale had explained that it is better to leave the actual text uncluttered and place variants in the debating arena of the printed page, the margins. Taverner's priority was to make the text clear. Ignoring Tyndale's advice, Taverner prints some notes in the margins but he puts the more important Matthew Bible marginal variants within the text itself.²¹ The 1538 injunction forbidding uncensored marginal annotation had placed on Taverner's shoulders the responsibility of 'defining' the text's meaning with a single shot.²² If Taverner sometimes misses the target, we should perhaps blame the censorious authorities for that, rather than Taverner himself.²³

If as Weitzman says, 'Tyndale . . . was alive to the needs of the English reader', then Taverner, who remained both alive and in England during the Tudor reformations, was even more aware. At Judges 5:27, where Deborah narrates the triumph of Jael over Sisara, Tyndale translates: 'He bowed himself and fell. And whither he bowed himself, thither he fell brought to nought'.²⁴ In Tyndale's version we are given a sense of the size and mightiness of the enemy, Sisara, as he is linguistically brought down by degrees. This lends Sisara a moderate amount of dignity before he is finally 'brought to nought'. Taverner replaced this translation entirely with 'he sprauled and laye deed lyke a wretche', capturing wonderfully for his audience the gross indignity of the mighty enemy's defeat, flattened and splayed between Jael's feet, particularly ignominious because it was at the hand of a woman.

Tyndale explains in his preface to his 1534 New Testament: 'If the text be left uncorrupt, it will purge herself of all manner false glosses'.²⁵ Did Tyndale then have one policy for translating Greek and another for translating Hebrew? Weitzman says that 'Tyndale was aiming at a translation that could be readily understood, and to that extent he was prepared to "improve" on the original'.²⁶ But this would seem to contradict Tyndale's own claims that he was translating the Hebrew 'word for word'.²⁷ Between his early translations in the Pentateuch and his final translations of the Historical books of the Old Testament, did Tyndale in fact change his mind about translation policy?

Weitzman argues that Tyndale's 'maximalist' approach means he translates words such as 'Nazir' in Numbers 6 as 'abstainer', not

'Nazarite', 'which would be a mere transliteration of the Hebrew'.²⁸ It is a translation that Tyndale actually employs throughout his Old Testament. Interestingly, though, in the 1534 New Testament, Tyndale renders the Hebrew word, at Matthew 2:23, 'a Nazarite', which is a revision of the 1526 translation 'of Nazareth', and, at Acts 24:5, 'Nazarites'. In Tyndale's Old Testament, Taverner targets the word 'abstainer' and substitutes 'Nazare'. Taverner realises the problem here of translating too far into another language. At Judges 16:17 he anticipates his reader's confusion when confronted by an indulged Samson—slayer of men and a lady-killer to boot—declaring himself to be an 'abstainer'. Coverdale's 1539 version tries to make this clearer with an intertextual gloss that is hardly more satisfactory, with his 'Nazarite (that is to say consecrate)'.²⁹

Taverner reinstates the Hebrew, which is explained by his earlier marginal notes at Judges 13:5: 'The lawe of the Nazare or abstayner, thou shalt finde in the sixte chapter of Numeri' and at Judges 13:7, 'Nazareus is a sepearte or holy one'. But even without these helps, Taverner makes what is surely a good decision here. When Tyndale makes Samson an 'abstainer', he renders him less Jewish. Only in the Jewish context can we appreciate what it might mean to be a Nazarite and that this does not preclude being indulged in every way.

Then again, Tyndale translates Judges 8:33: 'made Baal Berith their God' (*Beriyth* is Hebrew for covenant or promise). If Tyndale had been translating in a maximal way, he would surely have translated, 'made a covenant with Baal their God'. Once again our attention is drawn to this by Richard Taverner, who revises it: 'and made Baal a promise that he should be their God'.

Tyndale was not always consistent in executing those translation procedures that scholars have attributed to him. Richard Taverner, his most important reviser, building on Tyndale's translation, alerts us to the incongruities in our nicely arranged theories about Tyndale as a translator and causes us to revise Tyndale again. This can only be good for Tyndale studies, but what about Taverner?

Taverner was not an insignificant Reformation figure, as studies of his translations of Erasmus, Capito, Melanchthon, and Sarcerius, by Baskervill,³⁰ McConica,³¹ Yost,³² Pragman,³³ White,³⁴ and Devreux³⁵ have adequately demonstrated. In their *Erasmus the Reformer*,

A. G. Dickens and Whitney Jones note that 'with due respect to William Tyndale, perhaps the most significant and rewarding case study is that of Richard Taverner'.³⁶ In 1939 Hutson and Willoughby, astonished that Taverner had been left out of the quatercentenary celebrations of the 1930s, tried to promote interest in him through an article entitled 'The Ignored Taverner Bible of 1539'.³⁷ It is sad that in 1996 it is necessary to renew that appeal.

The chief authorities in the history of the Bible have called Taverner's version *insignificant*. There is no such thing as an insignificant sixteenth-century Bible, and we ought to be interested in the reasons this version has been suppressed.

Notes

1. Anthony à Wood, *Athena Oxoniensis*, 1 (London, 1721), cols 182–85, JRUL, 6715. Wood has a special interest in Taverner, whom he claims as an ancestor through his maternal line, stemming from Taverner's marriage to Mary Harcourt, his second wife.

2. John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Brytannie* (Basle, 1557), F.698^v, JRUL, R3746.

3. Wood also notes that it was at about this time Taverner gained a knowledge of Philosophy, Greek, and Divinity. His prominence as a Greek scholar was realised while he was at the Inner-Temple, 'where his humour was to quote the Law in Greek' (Wood, *op. cit.*, col. 182).

If Taverner was capable of reading the Septuagint, then it is even more surprising he should prefer the Vulgate as a primary reference for his Bible revision.

4. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 5, catalogued by J. S. Brewer (H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1862–1910), nos 1762, 1763. These letters are undated but have an estimated date of 1532.

5. T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525–1961*, revised and expanded by A. S. Herbert (British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1968), p. 24.

6. It was from this press that Taverner issued his translations of Erasmus. See E. J. Devereux, 'Richard Taverner's Translations of Erasmus', in *The Library*, 19 (1964), pp. 212–14.

7. For an extensive account of Taverner's career, see J. K. Yost, 'German Protestant Humanism and the Early English Reformation: Richard Taverner and Official Translation', in *Bibliothèque D'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 32 (1970), pp. 613–25.

8. B. F. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, revised W. A. Wright (London, 1905), p. 211.

9. Greenslade calls Taverner's Old Testament 'insignificant', 'for he knew no Hebrew and what corrections he made were introduced mainly from the Vulgate' (S. L. Greenslade, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* [Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1963], p. 154).

Harold H. Hutson and Harold R. Willoughby, in their article 'The Ignored Taverner Bible of 1539', in *The Crozier Quarterly* (July 1939), pp. 161-76, have argued forcefully for the influence of Taverner on the AV. Unfortunately they base their argument upon the Moulton collation of fourteen chapters of Matthew between Taverner's 1539 Bible and Tyndale's 1534 New Testament, as printed in Westcott's *General View*, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-11. Hutson and Willoughby would have had a stronger case had they collated their own data from Taverner's 1539 Bible and the Matthew Bible of 1537 from which Taverner was working.

Consequently, changes are attributed to Taverner that should be attributed to Rogers, the editor of the Matthew Bible. For example, at Matthew 13:36, Moulton notes that where Tyndale had 'to house', Taverner had 'home'. At Matthew 15:22, where Tyndale had 'the son', Taverner had 'thou son'. At Matthew 15:26, where Tyndale had 'whelps', Taverner had 'dogs'. At Matthew 27:62, where Tyndale had 'followeth Good Friday', Taverner had 'followed the day of preparing the Sabbath'. In fact, all of these examples are instances of Taverner's repeating what Rogers had already 'corrected' in the Matthew Bible.

Since my assertion of Taverner's interest for the Bible reader does not rely upon proving importance by establishing influence, one example may suffice. At Joshua 7:1, for instance, Taverner targets the word 'excommunicate' and replaces it with 'cursed' so that instead of Tyndale's 'trespassed in the excommunicate things' we have 'But yet the chyldren of Israel trespassed in the cursed thynges'. Coverdale's 1535 Bible had given 'damned' and in 1539 Coverdale maintained Tyndale's 'excommunicate'. This is the standard text here till the AV brings in the 'accursed thing', replacing all those occurrences of 'excommunicate' in Joshua 7 as insistently as Taverner had done and with virtually Taverner's word.

10. In pursuing their case for the New Testament, Hutson and Willoughby deny the importance of the Old Testament. 'Accordingly it is only fair to Taverner himself to form one's impression of his editorial capabilities and accomplishments from his revisions in the New Testament section of his Bible' (Hutson and Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 170).

11. We have a good example of Taverner translating dynamically in order to make the text relevant and enjoyable to his English audience in 1 Kings 20:38-43 (*TOT*), pp. 496-97. In Tyndale an unnamed prophet puts ashes on his eyes in preparation for his death:

Tyndale: 'And the prophet went forth and waited for the king by the way and put ashes upon his eyes, and put himself out of knowledge'.

Taverner: 'And the Prophete went forth and wayted for the kynge by the waye and tyed a kercheffe over his eyes, and put him selfe oute of knowledge'.

This is an excellent equivalent when we consider that the kerchief was used in England to blindfold those about to be executed. God has marked the prophet for death, but the king decides to let the man live:

Tyndale: 'And he hasted and took the ashes away from his eyes'.

Taverner: 'And he hasted and unfolded the kercheffe awaye from his eyes'.

With the 'unfolding' of this 'kercheffe', however, comes the stunning revelation of Israel's destiny. In his haste to reprieve the prophet and overturn God's death warrant, the king of Israel has unwittingly brought the warrant upon his own head and upon that of his people.

Taverner introduces the cultural equivalent of the kerchief and then uses it as a prop in unfolding the narrative to his English audience. It is an interpretative stroke of genius which involves the beholder in an event of the kind that would have been familiar, that of seeing eyes blindfolded in readiness for public execution.

Tyndale: 'And the king of Israel went to his house wayward and heavy, and entered into Samaria'.

Taverner: 'And the kynge of Israell went to his house al sad and hert hevy, and entred into Samaria'.

Tyndale's 'wayward and heavy' risks an interpretation that the king was unruly and fat. In Taverner's version we feel the weight of responsibility on this king 'al sad' and 'hert hevy'. In terms of quantifiable changes to Tyndale's text, here, Taverner makes relatively few revisions, but they are full revisions.

12. McConica sees the motivation for Taverner's Bible as being Cromwell's attempt to rescue Tyndale's translations in the Matthew Bible, 'when its character as thinly disguised Tyndale became obvious' (J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* [Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965], p. 164).

13. Michael Weitzman, 'On Translating the Old Testament: The Achievement of William Tyndale' in *Reformation*, 1 (1996), p. 167. The Hammond works to which Weitzman is referring include G. Hammond, 'William

Tyndale's Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther's German Bible and the Hebrew Original', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1981), pp. 351–85, and *idem*, *The Making of the English Bible* (Carcanet New Press, Manchester, 1982).

14. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

17. Daniell, ed., *Tyndale's Old Testament* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992), p. 315.

18. The 1539 Taverner Bible, JRUL, 12250, DM24. The Vulgate version had 'vos autem cavete ne de his quæ præcepta sunt quippiam contingatis et sitis prævaricationis rei et omnia castra Israhel sub peccato sint atque turbentur'. Coverdale's 1535 Bible had repeated 'damned' where in 1539 Coverdale repeated 'excommunicate', following Tyndale. Luther had given 'verbanner'. Pagninus had repeated 'anathemate', which is a transliteration of the Greek from the Septuagint. It is interesting that Taverner, who is a Greek scholar, should choose the Vulgate here: it clearly appeals to his desire for variety and clarity.

19. Of the sources that Taverner might have had to hand, it must be noted that he follows none of these versions here: Tyndale, Coverdale, the Vulgate, the Hebrew, the Septuagint, Luther, Pagninus, or Olivetan. There is, however, some affinity with LeFevre's 1534 rendering of this passage: 'plusieurs du people en sont tumbes par mort'. JRUL, R1707.

20. See 'William Tyndale, "yet once more to the Christian Reader"', in David Daniell, ed., *Tyndale's New Testament* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1989), pp. 13–16.

21. There are many instances of Taverner's choosing or interpreting the marginal notes and using them to substitute obscure text, for example at 1 Samuel 25:29 (*TOT*), p. 416.

Tyndale text: 'the soul of my lord be bound in a bundle of life with the Lord thy God'.

Marginal note: 'The meaning is, the life of my lord David shall be so preserved of the Lord, as it were in the bundle of God's provision, in which are all that have life'.

Taverner text: 'the soule of my Lorde mought be preserved as it were in a bondell of lyvyng thinges with the Lorde thy God'.

22. P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, eds, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 1 (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1969), p. 272.

23. 1 Samuel 14:27 (*TOT*), p. 398, is particularly interesting because, unaided by the Vulgate here, which has simply 'et inluminati sunt oculi eius',

the marginal note prompts Taverner to add meaning and variety to the text. Jonathan, not having heard Saul's interdiction not to eat, dips his staff into a honeycomb and then he:

Tyndale: 'put his hand to his mouth, and *his eyes received sight'.

Marginal note: '*Thus speak the Hebrews for that we say: he recovered his strength, and was more cheerful'.

Taverner: 'put his hande to his mouth and forthwith his eyen receyved their old vertue and courage'.

Taverner takes what he needs from the Matthew Bible note so that he no longer requires it in the margin. His interpretation, though, is rather odd. 'His eyes received sight' is perceived by Tyndale and Rogers to mean that the whole body was revitalised. Taverner couples the idiom with the interpretation in a strange hybridisation that hardly makes sense. Taverner's behaviour here is interesting not only because he is trying to give meaning to an idiom, but also because he finds it necessary to find better English equivalents for the English 'strength' and 'cheerful' offered by the margin. What this does indicate, however, is that while Taverner was anxious to make his text meaningful, he was also reluctant to depart too far from Tyndale's text.

24. Daniell, ed., *Tyndale's Old Testament*, p. 349.

25. 'William Tyndale, "yet once more to the Christian Reader"', p. 14.

26. Weitzman, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

27. William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), C.II.4, in David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1994), p. 229.

28. Weitzman, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

29. The Great Bible. April 1539 in the JRUL, 12251 (220.52), DM25.

30. Charles Read Baskervill, 'Taverner's Garden of Wisdom and the Apophthegmata of Erasmus', in *Studies in Philology*, 29 (1932), pp. 149–59.

31. J. K. McConica, *op. cit.*

32. J. K. Yost, 'Taverner's Use of Erasmus and the Protestantization of English Humanism', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 23 (1970), pp. 267–76; 'German Protestant Humanism and the Early English Reformation: Richard Taverner and Official Translation', in *Bibliothèque D'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 32 (1970), pp. 613–25; 'Protestant Reformers and the Humanist *Via Media* in the Early English Reformation', in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 5 (1975), pp. 187–202.

33. James H. Pragman, 'The Augsburg Confession in the English Reformation: Richard Taverner's Contribution', in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 2, 3 (1980), pp. 73–85.

34. Olive B. White, 'Richard Taverner's Interpretation of Erasmus in *Proverbs* or *Adagies*', in *PMLA*, 59 (1944), pp. 928–43.
35. E. J. Devereux, 'Richard Taverner's Translations of Erasmus', in *The Library*, 19 (1964), pp. 212–14.
36. A. G. Dickens and W.R.D. Jones, *Erasmus the Reformer* (Methuen, London, 1994), p. 199.
37. Hutson and Willoughby, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–76.

Abbreviations

- JRUL John Rylands University Library, University of Manchester.
- DM T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525–1961*, revised and expanded by A. S. Herbert (British and Foreign Bible Society, New York and London, 1968).
- STC A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640* (Bibliographical Society, London, 1926).
- TOT D. Daniell, ed., *Tyndale's Old Testament* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992).

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Numbers in brackets < > indicate:

- with no letter prefix: Spencer Collection in the John Rylands Library
- with R prefix: John Rylands Library
- with STC prefix: Short Title Catalogue

The Darlow and Moule new catalogue number is given for every Bible in English, with the prefix DM

Bibles and New Testaments:

- Tyndale's New Testament 1526 <R4549> DM 2
- Biblia Sacra Latina Ædita a S. Pagnino. 1527–1528 <19851>
- Biblia Sacra Latina Ædita a S. Colinæus. 1532–1533 <93>
- La Sainte Bible LeFevre 1534 <R1707>
- La Sainte Bible Olivetan 1535 <120>
- The Coverdale Bible 1535 <R4582> DM 18
- The Matthew Bible 1537 <10004> DM 34
- The Taverner Bible 1539 <12250> DM 45
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The Authorship of *The Supper of the Lord*

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I.

Written over four-and-a-half centuries ago, the reforming tract *The Supper of the Lord* remains today something of an oddity, attracting attention as much for the elusive identity of its author as for the controversial doctrines contained within.¹ Published anonymously in Antwerp in 1533, within a matter of months it had been successfully smuggled into England. There it received the unequivocal condemnation of the conservative clergy. The fundamental argument of the book asserted that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a popish addition to the true sacrament as set forth by Christ. In daring to attack the Real Presence, *Supper* struck at 'the centre and source of the whole symbolic system of late medieval Catholicism'.² The significant threat posed by the tract was taken seriously, for Thomas More himself undertook its refutation and the following year published *The answer to the fyrst parte of the poysoned booke, whych a namelesse heretyke hath named the souper of the lorde*. The 'fyrst parte' consisted of a translation of a Zwinglian sacramentarian treatise and an attack on Thomas More's book against the reformer John Frith. The third component of *Supper* set forth an account of the 'true' celebration of the Sacrament of the Altar, seeking to nourish spiritually the Brethren through the establishment of a reformed liturgy.³

By the time of *Supper's* publication, the doctrine of transubstantiation had become the most inflammatory issue of the early Reformation. The clash of the continental reformers Huldrych Zwingli and Martin Luther was common knowledge, and by the early 1530s separate strains of belief were becoming manifest in the English Brethren. However, William Tyndale soon realised that internal divisions threatened the very integrity of the reformers, and he set about impeding further development of the debate. John Frith had argued with Thomas More

on the subject while Frith was imprisoned in the Tower. Early in 1533 Frith received from Tyndale a letter, which sought to implement a blanket ban on the subject. The reformers were henceforth to distance themselves from the controversial issue and were only to state that the Real Presence was a matter of indifference (*adiaphora*). In this letter Tyndale added: 'George Joye would have put forth a treatise of the matter, but I have stopped him as yet. What he will do if he get money, I wot not'.⁴ Within three months *The Supper of the Lord* was published:

The Souper
of the Lorde.
wher unto, that thou mayst be the better pre
pared and suerlyer enstructed : haue here
first the declaracion of the later par=
te of the .6. ca. of S. Johan, beginning=
ge at the letter C. the fowerth ly=
ne before the crosse, at these wor
dis: Uerely vere .&c wheryn
incidentally M.Moris let=
ter agenst Johan Fr
the is confu=
red.⁵

The only textual clue offered by the anonymous author was that Master More 'knowth my name wel inoughe' (D8^v). The ex-chancellor considered the matter of authorship in his *Answer to a Poisoned Book*. His two prime suspects were William Tyndale and George Joye. While refusing a definitive judgement, More certainly leaned towards Joye as the more plausible author, and his ascription makes sense. From Tyndale's letter to John Frith, we know that Joye had written something on the Sacrament of the Altar, that he was seeking funding, and that Tyndale was against any discussion (not to mind printing) of the matter. When the English diplomat Edward Foxe wrote to Thomas Cromwell in June 1535, he petitioned for George Joye to be allowed to return to England, stressing: 'Joye will never again say anything contrary to the present belief concerning the sacrament, and is conformable in all points as a Christian man should be'.⁶ The implication

of Foxe's statement is that Joye had made public radical views relating to the Sacrament of the Altar.

Supper was soon presumed to be by George Joye, both by reformers and by Roman Catholics. John Bale included the tract under the works of Joye in both his *Illustrium maioris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium* (1548) and his *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Catalogus* (1557). There also survives a record from 1542, a list of forbidden books compiled by Bishop Edmund Bonner, a list which was to be circulated throughout the country. One of the texts targeted was 'The Supper of the Lord, of George Joye's doing'.⁷ And yet, four hundred years later, in 1942, J. F. Mozley could argue with utter conviction that *Supper* was an authentic work of the pioneering reformer William Tyndale.⁸

Several reasons help explain the turnaround from Joye's being declared author by both factions of the religious war to Tyndale's being assigned the role, and many of these are concerned with character. The principal character of the English Reformation was of course William Tyndale; we know this because of the principal historian of the English Reformation—John Foxe. Published in 1563, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* provided a cohesive, unified narrative of the Reformation, which became the touchstone of Reformation scholarship. It was under the ægis of Foxe that William Tyndale's status reached legendary proportions. In 1573, Foxe included *Supper* in his edition of the works of Tyndale, Barnes, and Frith. This was the first time the anonymous text had been seriously associated with the great reformer. It appeared only as an appendix; Foxe argued that it was an important tract to have in print and that some rumours had ascribed it to William Tyndale. Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, begun when George Joye was still living, dared no such connection; instead it simply declined to mention this landmark book.

I would argue that Foxe's eventual inclusion of *Supper* in the 1573 collection may be explained in terms of his own personal agenda, since Joye's last polemical work was directed against none other than Foxe himself.⁹ The two men had argued over the question of judicious punishment for adulterers, Joye maintaining that the sentence of death set forth in the Old Testament had not been abrogated with the coming of Christ. His *A contrarye (to a certayne manis) consultacion* was a response to the 'false and unlearned' (A2^v) book of John Foxe, which argued

against the martyrologist's 'false argumentes, weake reasons and his vayne probacyons' (A2^r). At best Foxe was 'this yong and newe orator' (A5^v); at worst he was a 'patrone of Adulterers' (A4^r) who, motivated by 'his blynde loue to him selfe in pleasinge him selfe hath openly for a shewe of his latyne tongue and greke set forthe his boke more to exercise his stile, then to geue us any godly doctrine' (B1^r). Joye was characteristically direct in his critique of Foxe's work: 'Suerly all the rethryke ye haue, can not defende youre Adulterers from the iuste punishment with deathe, but to folis and to men corrupte with the same filthy scabbe, perchaunce your boke may seme somewhat plausible and pleasant' (E2^r).

It would be difficult to minimise the attention given to George Joye in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. The man responsible for publishing the first primers and psalters in English, who had translated a significant proportion of the Old Testament, and whose work was deemed influential enough to incur the wrath of both Thomas More (in the 1530s) and Stephen Gardiner (in the 1540s) is studiously ignored in the 'comprehensive' account of the Brethren's struggle. Considering the vehemence of *A Contrary Consultation*, Foxe's adverse reaction was all but inevitable. It comes as little surprise that in the 1570s, with Joye safely dead, the influential *Supper* ended up with the works of the 'core' men of the Reformation, divorced from the unsavoury name of George Joye.

The formula initiated by John Foxe has functioned throughout Reformation scholarship. People unfamiliar with Joye's works take their lead from the martyrologist, who ascribed little importance to the reformer. As with Jerome Barlowe and William Roye, any reckoning of Joye's contribution has been overshadowed by the fact that Tyndale (the archetypal member of the Brethren) disapproved of them. That Joye dared not only to edit Tyndale's New Testament, but to argue with him in print, irrevocably sealed his fate. Having been criticised publically by Tyndale himself (on both professional and personal levels), Joye was unquestionably a man of ignoble character. Assigned to Joye is a character constructed wholly within the context of William Tyndale; it is an assignation from which he simply never recovered. When it comes to the authorship of an obviously important tract such as *Supper*, the debate is argued in terms of character. John Foxe's uneasy

ascription of 1573 was not carefully scrutinised and was (with Tyndale's derogatory remarks concerning Joye) simply passed on from generation to generation. In 1850 one man confessed himself 'rather inclined to attribute the treatise to Joy's pen, if I could but be satisfied that he was capable of writing so correctly, and of keeping so clear of vulgarity in a controversy with a popish persecutor'.¹⁰

In a similar vein, J. F. Mozley informs us:

Besides, the 'Supper' is too able a work for Joye's pen. Joye was zealous and well-meaning, but of the second class—vain, foolish, touchy, and apt to intrude into matters beyond his capacity. He lacks the strong simplicity, learning and directness of Tyndale, whose very railings are deeper and more penetrating than Joye's.¹¹

Mozley goes on to argue that the fierce defence of John Frith was more likely to be from 'Frith's master and bosom friend, Tyndale, than from a mere acquaintance like Joye'.¹² There is no evidence suggesting a 'mere acquaintanceship'; furthermore George Joye, whatever his personal feelings, consistently defended his brethren against the conservative clergy. Despite his differences with Tyndale, Joye argued his case for him on several occasions; similarly he defended John Frith, and he devoted an entire book to Robert Barnes. But of course, the writings of a 'vain, foolish, and touchy' man did not attract; therefore Joye was simply not studied, and the bias was not uncovered. Similarly, the presence of Zwingli's sacramentarian tract was also used to support Tyndale as author of *Supper*: Mozley asks, 'Was Joye a Zwinglian? I doubt it'.¹³ In fact, Joye's works contain four complete translations of Zwingli, and the theology of the Swiss reformer resounds through Joye's works. Even the anonymity of *Supper* was taken as proof that it could not have been penned by Joye, a man 'whose self-conceit was boundless'.¹⁴ The fact that eleven of the twenty-four works ascribed to Joye never appeared under his own name is ignored. It is such a lack of knowledge of either the character or the work of George Joye which has impeded the resolution of the issue of authorship.

The arguments published to date in favour of Joye as author of *Supper* have emanated from W.D.J. Cargill Thompson and William

Clebsch, both of whose articles were written in the 1960s. In their reexamination of the historical evidence, these men highlighted the prejudice of previous generations of scholarship and ably constructed a strong case for Joye as author. However, despite the attempt to defend Joye, the lack of knowledge of Joye's works remained. Clebsch mentions that it was Joye who responded to Thomas More's *Answer to a Poisoned Book* with his *Subuersion of Moris false foundations* (1534). *Subuersion* is in fact a response to More's *Confutation of Tyndale* and is without reference to his *Answer to a Poisoned Book*. Thompson interprets the *Supper's* lack of references to the books of the Old Testament as a sign of Joye's authorship, an odd argument, considering Joye's translation of Isaiah, Daniel, Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Psalms, and Jeremiah and his enduring preoccupation with the Old Testament prophets. Differentiating between the sacramentarian theology of *Supper* and that found in the works of Tyndale, Thompson stresses Tyndale's interpretation of the sacrament as a memorial, remarking that in *Supper* 'the eucharist is never described explicitly as a "memorial"'.¹⁵ In fact it is: 'Do ye this in to my remembrance. This doth Paule repete do ofte to put us in mynde, that these thankis geuyng and souper is the commemoracion and the memoriall of Crystis dethe' (C7^v).

This illumination of errors is not intended to overshadow the insightful historical scholarship of both Clebsch and Thompson. On the whole, the mistakes are minor, and in the wake of the two articles, some were convinced of the validity of the ascription to George Joye. Ironically, this has taken its toll on the text. When it was a Tyndalian tract, we are told that 'the tone is reverent in the extreme, and it might have taught More, had he been more willing to listen, that his antagonist was something better than a mere spoiler of the past'.¹⁶ However, when penned by Joye, '*The Souper of the Lorde* is a flimsy little tract in comparison with the sacramental works of Frith and Tyndale'.¹⁷ It is either too good or it is just bad enough to have been written by Joye.

Unfortunately, the most convincing piece of scholarship to date on the authorship of *Supper* has remained unpublished. In her Ph.D. thesis, Anthea Hume dealt briefly with the issue, tracing textual echoes between Joye's *Subuersion* and *Supper*.¹⁸ Her study also highlighted the author's assertion: 'For it is verely the thinge that I desyer, euen to be wryten agenste in this mater, for I haue the solucions of al

their obieccions redye' (D5^v), citing it as evidence that the author of *Supper* was not William Tyndale, who had sought to avoid any discussion of the controversial issue. Hume's approach logically sought to place *Supper* within the works of Joye through textual analysis. What is required is a comparison of the language, argumentation, and sacramental theology of the reformer George Joye with that evident in the anonymous *Supper*. Since the historical evidence has thus far failed to resolve the issue of authorship, we must tap the wealth of internal evidence offered by the text itself.

II.

Judging merely from its face value, several features of the *Supper* point us in the direction of George Joye. The Zwinglian translation, the personal attack on Thomas More, and the defence of fellow members of the Brethren are all staple elements of Joye's work. In addition to John Frith, Jerome Barlowe also gained mention in *Supper*, being praised for his 'incomparable lernynge and very spirituall iugement' (fol. D2). Such effusive admiration may not have been quite so forthcoming from William Tyndale, whose differences with Barlowe over the man's 'raylinge ryme' *Rede me and be not wrothe* were common knowledge. There is also *Supper's* telltale reference to the books of 'Isaye & Jeremye' (A3^v), which were the titles of two translations by Joye completed around this time. *The Prophete Isaye / translated into englysshe / by George Joye* was published in May 1531 by Martin de Keyser; three years later, in May 1534, *Jeremy the Prophete / translated into Englysshe: by George Joye* was printed (probably at the same press). Joye had a particular fondness for these two texts and mentioned them in the majority of his works, always under the same format 'Isaye and Jeremy'.¹⁹ The features noted, however, are mere first impressions and hardly function to the exclusion of all other reformers working in Antwerp at this time. We must look to the details of *Supper* to discern the imprint of the hand of George Joye.

Joye's idiosyncratic literary style offers some help in trying to identify an author for this text, for it can be argued that *Supper* contains multiple echoes of Joye's particular parochial vocabulary, language, and manner of disputation. A Bedfordshire man, Joye was

reared in the small village of Renhold, where he lived until he enrolled at Christ's College, Cambridge (probably in 1508). Throughout his career as polemicist, Joye put to positive use his individualistic, informal lexicon. The fact that his writings were directed towards the common layperson is obvious from their titles; Joye, like many early reformers, displayed a mistrust of rhetoric and fought against the Latinate sentence structure current in the English language. Joye's audience benefited from his characteristically simple religious imagery, his colloquial translations, and his informal conveyance of the substance of Reformation doctrine. His belief was that the Brethren could 'gather grete frute without any grete glose, once we come with a pure heart'.²⁰

The colloquial rendering of the 'olde breife and playne speche of the scriptures' associated with George Joye is manifest in *Supper*.²¹ There is an abundance of minor echoes. For example, the word *slougherde* (= a slothful or cowardly person; a parochial mutation of the word *slough*) appeared in Joye's translation of Solomon (1535): 'Go thy waie (ydle slougherde)'.²² It also occurs in *Supper*'s opening paragraph, which quotes the words of Jesus in John 6:26–27: 'Ye take grete paynes to folowe me for the meate of your belyes: but o slougherdis, worke, take paynes and labour rather to get that meate that shall neuer perysshe' (A1^v).²³ Another little-used word—*raught*—is employed in Joye's *Our Saviour Jesus Christ* (1543) and in *Supper* to describe the action of handing out the bread during the Sacrament of the Altar.²⁴ In *Supper* we are told that Jesus 'raught it them saying, take it' (B6^r); and in *Saviour* 'the bread is raught unto us' (C5^r). This type of paralleling is to be found not only in Joye's biblical and sacramentarian works, but also in his more general polemical tracts. In *Supper* Christ is described as the 'assuered sauuyng helthe and earnest peny of euerlasting lyfe' (A1^v) and as 'th onely earnest penye and pledge of your saluacion' (A3^v).²⁵ In Joye's *The Refutation of the byshop of Winchesters derke declaration* (1546), we are told that the elect have 'the pledge and earnest of the spirite' (G8^r); the same image appears in Joye's *The letters which Johan Ashwell* (1531), which describes the holy spirit 'as an earnest peny to be asswerde of our promised heritage' (B5^v) and in his *A Compendyouse somme of the very Christen relygyon* (1535), where it is 'the earnest peny certifying us to possese that lyfe eternallye' (B1^v). Several idiomatic colloquialisms associated with Joye are present in *Supper*.

The tract complains: 'we wilbe burned of them because we beleue not their iugelinge castis' (D4^r) and warns that 'we maye not make of his very bodely ascension, siche an inuysyble iugelynge caste as oure papistis fayne' (C7^r). Joye's *Refutation* also objects to the 'iuglynge castes' of Stephen Gardiner and his 'popisshe impes' (Aa8^v, E7^v), and his *A very godly defence . . . defending the mariage of Preistes* (1545) laments how easy it is 'to invent some iugling castes & apparent reasons to blere ignorant princes eyes' (C3^v). The horticultural image of being 'grafted' to Christ by faith is to be found both in *Supper*, where Jesus preaches 'who so is gryffed & ioyned to me by fayth shal neuer hunger' (A2^v), and in *A frutefull treatis of Baptyme and the Lordis Souper* (1541), which declares: 'By faith we ar grafted unto Christ' (A6^v). Both books also cite the same reason in condemning the doctrine of transubstantiation: *Supper* complains of the papists: 'nether ceasse thei dayly to crucifye and offer him up agen' (A5^r); *Frutefull* likewise rebukes those who 'crucifye Crist a fresshe in themselues & set forthe the blode of the couenant for a laughing stok' (D6^v).²⁶ Numerous examples such as these may be traced from *Supper* which, although not conclusive in themselves, do produce a cumulative effect in helping to tie the text to George Joye.

As mentioned above, one component of *Supper* consists of a response to Thomas More's writing against the sacramentarian theology of Frith. In 1532 John Frith had written a brief treatise on the sacrament of the Eucharist, in which he asserted that the physical body of Jesus was in heaven and that it could not occupy two places simultaneously. It was therefore not physically present in the bread and wine and was received not carnally, but spiritually.²⁷ Although his work was a private pamphlet (not published until 1545), *A Christian Sentence* was soon delivered into the hands of Thomas More, who took it upon himself to defend this most Roman Catholic of doctrines, publishing his condemnatory *Letter Impugning the Erroneous Writing of John Frith* later that year. It was to this book that the author of *Supper* responded. More's *Letter* also provided the basic text against which Joye argued in his *Subversion*, which was published early in 1534. This text provides an ideal area through which to sift for similarities, since in theory, we are presented with two tracts, written within one year of each other, by the same person, and directed against the

same man. The affinities between the two works prove very interesting, and significant textual echoes are revealed in their condemnation of the ex-chancellor. Both portray Thomas More as a man who either out of ignorance or out of malice misunderstands the Scriptures and derisively abuses the faithfull members of Christ's church. *Supper's* description of More as the 'olde holy upholder of the popis chirche' (A6^v) calls to mind a similar remark from Joye's *Subversion*, where More is labelled the 'old holy upholder . . . of the papistical Synagoge' (B3^v). A distinctive phrase describing More's role as apologist for the Roman Church is present in both tracts: *Supper* remarks, 'God hath sent your chyrche a met kouer for siche a cuppe, euen siche a defender as ye take upon your selfe to be' (B1^v); *Subversion* also describes More as 'beinge a ful fet kouer for siche a cuppe to furnessh it with subtile falsehed / & to mayntayn their gloriouse ungodlynes with his autorite' (A2^r). The two books also associate More with mocking: one personal rebuttal in *Supper* ends: 'But turne we to Johan ageyn and let More mocke stil and lye to' (A4^v); similarly Joye's *Subversion* describes the way in which More writes, 'strewing his processe with lordly checks tauntis / mockes & lyes' (B8^r). This image of More as mocker resulted in his being called Master Mocke in the conclusion of *Supper*: 'And as for M. Mocke, whom the veryte most offendeth, & doth but mocke it oute when he can not soyle it: he knowth my name well inoughe'.²⁸ Significantly, the derogatory label is also to be found in Joye's *Subversion*, which recounts how 'M.Mok playd the proctour of purgatory' (B5^r).

Joye's fundamental argument with Thomas More concerned itself with the validity of popular religious rites and ceremonies. His belief was that the Roman Church had 'derkened and oppressed the holy sacred religion of god' with its own manmade doctrines, pretending that they had emanated from the Holy Spirit.²⁹ In his *Confutation of Tyndale*, More argues that in the centuries since the completion of the Bible further aspects of God's will had been revealed to the Church. He asserts that this divine communication 'unwryten is of as grete authoryte, as certayne, and as sure, as is hys worde wryten in the scrypture'.³⁰ These earthly doctrines Joye calls the 'unwryten articles' and the 'dreamed rites' of the papists.³¹ In 1546 he condemned the popish doctrine of Stephen Gardiner as being 'all out of his owne

brayne dreamed withoute anye scripture'.³² The vocabulary employed in debating this issue remains consistent throughout Joye's works. His tracts against the 'false articles of Winchesters false faith' dating from the 1540s all contain one of Joye's distinctive phrases—'dead dreams'.³³ *Refutation* emphatically sets forth God's abhorrence for 'humane traditions & mennes deade dreames' (C8^r); in his *The defence of the Mariage of Preistes* (1541), Joye accuses Gardiner and his bishops of 'adding their own dead dreams & deuillish deuices' (A7^v) to the true religion of Christ; and *Saviour* damns the 'dede dreames of thys holy sacrament' (B1^r). The phrase also occurs in Joye's *Subversion*, where the 'unwryten deed dremes' (A3^v) of the papists receive repeated condemnation. The author of *Supper* declares that he will respond with the Word of God, 'if our Papistis, & scolasticall sophisters will obiecte & make answer to this souper of the lorde, bringing yn for them, their unwryten wordis, dede dremes . . .' (D5^r).

Another phrase—'unwritten verities'—is more significant, occurring several times in the course of *Supper*. It is to be found in several of Joye's works: *Subversion* makes repeated mention of 'Moris unwryten verites and balde ceremones' (E7^r); and both *Saviour* and Joye's *The unite and Scisme of the olde Chirche* (1543) use 'unwritten verites' in the same context, arguing that everything necessary to be believed was to be found within the Scriptures.³⁴ The fact that Joye's works are dotted with this phrase becomes interesting in light of a pun from *Supper*, which reads: 'More muste geue us leue to beleue his unwryten vanities, verites I shulde saye, at laysour'.³⁵ Mozley singles this out as being 'highly Tyndalian' and uses it to support his belief that William Tyndale was the obvious author.³⁶ The form of the pun is in fact very much in keeping with Joye's style: in *A Contrary Consultation* he refers to the martyrologist John Foxe as 'so sliper a serpent of so variable colors of contradicions, correccions I woulde saye . . .' (A4^r). His *Subversion* not only features the phrase 'unwritten vanities', but also balances the concepts of vanity and of truth against each other, mentioning More's 'unwritten verites or rather vayne lyes' (H2^r) and remarking that 'euery natural witted with his comen sensis maye perceue moris unwryten verites / & se them to / to be starke vayne vanites' (B6^r).

However, it is not merely the language, but the theology of the *Supper* which is duplicated and reaffirmed in *Subversion*. The vanities

of the Roman Church were vanities because they were unwritten; the obligation fell to the Church to justify its doctrines 'by expresse wordis of holy scripture', which was the only authority recognised by the reformers.³⁷ Anything not contained within the Bible was merely human whim, part of the 'papistry & sophistry' of the 'anticristen sinagoge'.³⁸ Furthermore, in suggesting that the Bible was not a complete guide to the true faith, the papists had been guilty of blasphemy. Both *Supper* and *Subversion* tackle Thomas More on the issue of 'sufficient scriptures', and in the process both chorus the same words:

Is not this Godles man an enmye unto Cryste that wolde go aboute ether to proue it unwryten to thrust yn his unwryten verites in the place of it / or els to proue Crystis gospel and testament unperfit and insufficient for our saluacion? (*Subversion*, E7^v)

Had M. More understood this pointe, he shulde neuer haue thus blasphemed Cryste and his sufficient scryptures, nother haue so belyed hys euangelistis and holy apostles, as to saye, they wrote not al thinges necessary for our saluacion, but lefte out thinges of necessite to be beleued, makyng gods holy testament insufficient and unperfite. (*Supper*, fol. A4)

According to More, the innovations instituted by the Church over the centuries required the same obedience as the ceremonies set forth in the Word, since the Church was in effect God's plenipotentiary on earth: 'whatever is changed throughout the whole church concerning the sacraments is changed with no one but God doing the changing, who, so that *the whole church cannot err* in matters of this sort, has promised that His Spirit will lead her into all truth'.³⁹ Therefore 'those thynges / ymagys I mene and pylgrymagys and prayeng to sayntes / are thynges good and to be had in honour in Crystys chyrche / syth the chyrche beleueth so'.⁴⁰ More's belief in the infallibility of the Roman Church came under a scathing attack in both *Subversion* and *Supper*, and both diatribes have a similar format. Speaking of More's Church, the *Supper* laments that 'ye muste beleue it what so euer it teche you, for he hath fayned to that it can not erre . . . yf it tell ye blak is whighte, good is badde, and the deuel is god; yet muste ye beleue

it' (A8^r). Likewise in *Subversion*, Joye complains, 'If More teche us that the testament wryten in crystis blode . . . is not yet so perfit & ratified as sufficient for our saluacion . . . yet must we beleue him: for Moris churche cannot erre' (fol. A3).⁴¹

George Joye of course, delighted in pointing out where More had erred. One such place was in More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, which tackles among other things the issue of the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. More had first included her virginity as an example of the truths revealed to the Church by the Holy Spirit and had later proved it by the Word. In *Subversion*, Joye writes:

It behoueth a lyer to haue a good memory / for anon as he had affirmed it to be an unwryten trouthe he forgote himself and goith aboute to proue it a wryten trouthe to / expowninge non cognosco id est non cognoscam / which is playne contradiccion in his owne words the same to be both wryten & unwryten as he take them. (B3^v)

The same weakness is pounced upon by the author of *Supper*:

As yet yf he loke narrowly he shall expye that hymselfe hathe proued us by scripture . . . our ladys perpetual virginite expowninge non cognosco, id est, non cognoscam, whiche now wryten unwrytten verite he nowmbereth a lytel before emonge his unwryten vanites. (B3^r)

Significant repetition appears in both the vocabulary of abuse and in the argumentation found in *Subversion* and *Supper*. Both texts have the same complaints of Thomas More and of his Church, and these may be traced through to the later works of Joye, when Stephen Gardiner had replaced Thomas More as the personification of papistry. It is theoretically possible, however unlikely, that Joye drew heavily on the *Supper* in order to formulate the reformist arguments which resound through his later works. In demonstrating the presence of Joye's sacramentarian theology and his particular preoccupations concerning the Sacrament of the Altar within *Supper*, I hope to highlight the implausibility of such a theory.

III.

With the Act of Six Articles (1539) unequivocally asserting the Real Presence of Christ in the bread and wine, the English state had finally come down on the side of the conservative clergy. Joye attempted to counteract the backlash of orthodoxy and set out to delineate the true meaning and function of the sacraments as explained by the Scriptures. Two of his works—*Saviour* and *Frutefull*—address the significance of the sacraments of baptism and the supper, explaining their necessity (due to ‘thimbecilite and dwolnes of our flesshe’) and their role in expanding our understanding, strengthening our faith, and providing for us a source of comfort.⁴² This was an important undertaking, since the Roman Church had greatly exaggerated the reformers’ attempts to cut away the dross accumulated over the centuries, condemning them for their attempt ‘to mynysshe & quenche mennes deuocyons’ out of ‘a malycyous mynde’.⁴³ In relating the value of the sacraments, Joye sought to educate both conservative and reformed in the true understanding of the Christian faith. A good example is provided in *Frutefull*; Joye examines the worth of baptism,

. . . whose exterior act in dopping into the water techeth us to dye with Criste / that is to saye / to mortifye that olde Adam of ours / to repress our sensuall & carnall affectes / and then are we baptized into Cristis deth to dye with hym. And when we thus dye from syn / then burye we our synnes in the holes of his woundes / as Paule saith / we ar also buried with hym / to ryse agen / euen to be reuyued in spirit and to lede a newe lyfe in repentance / nowe rysen agen with Crist. (Br^r)

This theology is also articulated in *Supper*, although in a more condensed form. There, baptism represents

our enterynge into the bodye of Criste . . . to dye, be buried, and to ryse wyth hym, to mortifye our flesshe, and to be reuyued in spirit, to caste of the olde man, and to do upon us the newe. (Cr^r)

Both texts parallel the sacraments of baptism and of the Eucharist in a similar way. Again, the description in *Frutefull* is an expanded version of that found in *Supper*:

Also as by Baptyme we be initiated / we professe / and be con-
seigned unto the worship of one God / into the faith of one &
the same Christen religion / euen so by the same faithe and loue
expressed at the lordis souper / we declare our selues to perseuer
in our profession / now incorporated into Christ as the very
members of that mystik bodye whereof Christ is onely the head.
(*Frutefull*, A4^v–A5^r)

So that by Baptisme we be initiated & consealed unto the
worship of one god in one faith: And by the same faithe and
loue at the lordis souper. we shewe our selues to continew in our
possession, to be incorporated and to be the very members of
Chrystis bodye. (*Supper*, C1^v)

It is apparent from these quotes that the Sacrament of the Altar was of considerable importance to George Joye. His heartfelt expression of its worth has no counterpart in the works of Tyndale. In many ways both men approached the sacrament from a shared perspective: it was seen as a ceremony of remembrance and of thanksgiving, which also had a function in strengthening the faith of the participants. But in reacting against the idolatrous mass of the Roman Catholics, Tyndale stripped it of all but the most perfunctory significance. In his *A Brief Declaration of the Sacraments* he explains 'that our sacramentes are bokys of storyes only and that ther is none other vertu in them then to thestyfye the couenauntes and promysse made in chrysts bloud' (B5^r). The mass merely pointed the way to God's promise of redemption. In contradistinction, in his several writings on the Sacrament of the Supper, Joye's enduring respect is manifest. As the only sacrament instituted by Christ himself, 'this holy souper ought hyghly with all reuerence to be eaten and treated'.⁴⁴ *Supper* shares this view:

This is no small sacrament, nor yet irreuerently to be entreted:
but it is the moste gloriouse and hyghest sacrament, with all

reuerence & worschip, withe thankis geuinge to be ministred, used receyued, preched & solempnely in the face of the congregacion to be celebrated. (C4^v)

Supper focuses upon the sacrament as one of conciliation, describing how, 'at the lordis souper . . . we testifye the unite and communion of oure hertis, glued unto the hole bodye of Cryst in loue' (C1^r). This particular emphasis, which received no attention from Tyndale, is set forth in Joye's *Frutefull*, where the sacraments of baptism and the supper are described as 'the verye badges & cognyzances of the Christen societe & fraternite' (A3^v). They are the sacraments of the 'unite and knot whereby we ar ioyned together with God the father & Crist / by his spirit' (A7^v) which encourage us 'euer to perseuer in our religion and faithe and in a louing Christen concorde / that we all there present mought euer more be made one brede / one cuppe / one bodye' (B3^v–B4^r). *Saviour* similarly equates the congregation to the body and blood of Christ, asserting that during the celebration 'with Christe and emong our owne selues we be made one bodye' (C5^v), as does *Supper*, declaring, 'For we beyng many together ar one brede, euen one bodye' (C8^r). Furthermore it claims that 'the bodye of Cryste . . . is hys congregacyon' (D1^v), asserting that the bread signifies 'us to be the bodye of Criste that is his congregacion and his peple' (D6^r).⁴⁵

The importance given to the Sacrament of the Altar is communicated through the description of the ideal celebration of the Eucharist with which *Supper* concludes. The experience of partaking in the ceremony 'restored unto the pure use' (D6^v) is related in a way wholly in keeping (both in terms of language and religious belief) with the sacramentarian theology set forth in *Frutefull*. Joye differentiates between the outward appearance of the ritual and its meaning. In stressing the separateness of the 'outwarde sensible signe' and that signified by the sign, Joye highlighted the difference between our physical and our spiritual experiences.⁴⁶ Two processes occur simultaneously. For example, the baptismal rite can be divided between an outward and an inward baptism; the water and the words of institution pointing to the inward purging of the soul by the Holy Spirit.

Joye describes the spiritual experience of the Sacrament of the Altar as 'seeing with the eye of faith', and this phrase is used in the same context in both *Supper* and *Frutefull*.⁴⁷ As the physical signs of the sacrament, the bread and wine serve to impress upon us the ultimate sacrifice of the Son of God, as *Supper* explains:

So that whyle euery man beholde with his corporall eye those sensible sacramentis: the inwarde eye of his faith maye se and beleue stedfastlye Cryste offred and dyinge upon the crosse for his synnes, how his bodye was broken & his blood shed for us, and hathe geuen himselfe wholl for us. (D7^r)

Once more, *Frutefull* provides us with a similar experience:

Agene / we see with our exterior eyes the brede & wyne geuen o us / but with the eye of our faith we se as presently his body crucified & his blode shede & geuen us. (C1^r)

In addition, Joye's *Refutation* also contains the same understanding of the sacrament:

And in the holy souper of the Lorde, dewly ministred, I remember and see with the eyes of my faith, in the breakinge and geuinge of the holy bread his bodi broken crucified & geuen me unto the remission of my sinnes. (*Refutation*, X8^v)

The idea of seeing 'with the eye of faith' is extended to the act of receiving itself, which is basically described as ingesting Jesus 'by faith'. *Frutefull* explains: 'It is the soule that eateth & lyueth by this bread / & not our bodyes' (C1^v). The text goes on to clarify that the body and blood of Christ are 'eaten & dronken by faith / & not with our bodely tethe & fleshely mouthes' (fol. B3). Joye's *The Coniectures of the ende of the worlde* (1548) likewise condemns the 'fleshly eating & bloody drinking' (E7^v) of Christ. The same emphasis appears in *Supper*, which stresses that it is 'faith therfore that stancheth this hunger and thirste of the soule . . . so that we can desyre no nother yf we once thus eat and drynke hym by faythe' (A2^v).

Since the efficacy of this sacrament depended entirely on the faith of the communicant, malpractice implied that faith had been found wanting, which meant damnation. The opening quotes on the title page of *Supper* reveal this concern: 'i. Corhinh.xi Who so euer shall eate of this bread and drinke of this cuppe of the Lorde unworthely, shalbe gyltye of the body and bloud of the Lorde'.⁴⁸ *Supper's* examination into what exactly incurred this guilt closely resembles that of *Frutefull*, which has a section entitled 'What it is / worthely or onworthely to receyue the sacrament'. The emphasis, the language, and the theology of Joye's book is more than reminiscent of *Supper*. For Joye (following 1 Corinthians 11), an examination of conscience or 'proving oneself', is a vital part of the process. He declares: 'there can be no commemoracion with out the iuste probacion of our selues' and exhorts private reflection for each layperson, during which we should 'expende & proue our selues / consydering: who we were by Adams fall / from what perellis and euillis we ar by Crist delyuered undeserued of us'.⁴⁹ This duty is also set forth in *Supper*, which instructs: 'Then agen it behoueth the curate to warne & exhorte euery man depely to consyder and expende wyth hym selfe the sygnificacyon and substance of thys sacrament' (D8^r). This inward scrutiny is necessary because of the omniscient God, the 'sercher of herte and raynes thoughtis and effectis', 'to whom hertes, reynes and thoughtes are layde wyde open'.⁵⁰ However, unlike Tyndale, who held that the sacrament, if practised correctly, was 'an absolucyon of our sinnes as ofte as we receiue it', Joye did not see the forgiveness of sins as a result of partaking in the Eucharist, but saw the repentance of them as a crucial prerequisite.⁵¹ *Frutefull* and *Supper* repeatedly echo each other on this subject:

For yf we had iuged our soules, that is, If we had dilygently examined our owne lyuinge and repented: we shulde not haue ben iuged, that is to saye, punisshed of the lorde. (*Supper*, D1^v)

. . . for yf we had truly examined our selues we shuld not haue ben so punisshed of the Lorde. (*Frutefull*, C6^r)

And again:

But whyle we be punyshed, we be corrected of the lorde lest we shuld be condempned wythe the worlde. (*Supper*, D1^v)

. . . they ar corrected of the Lorde lest they shuld be condempned with the worlde. (*Frutefull*, D2^r)

In *Supper*, the process of 'proving' functions 'to excyte . . . euery man unto the knowlege of him selfe and hys synnes: and to beleue and truste to the forgeuenes in Crystis blode' (D6^v). Through this examination of conscience and repentance, the faith in the one sufficient propitiatory sacrifice of Christ is strengthened. For the reformers, this faith was the single most important component of religious life. In their prioritization of human works the papists had made 'christe but halfe a deseruer, halfe a satisfier, and but a partly patched saiuour'; their carnal Supper conveyed 'hym wyth a fewe wordis, into a syngynge lofe'.⁵² Through this solemn consideration of Christ's sacrifice, one becomes ready to receive physically the bread and wine, and spiritually his body and blood. The two things required for this are faith and love. *Frutefull* instructs, 'And nowe se whether thou haste / or desyerst to haue that faith and loue / which God commandeth the to haue' (C6^v). *Supper* also connects these two prerequisites: 'Let a man therfore sayth Paule proue him selfe well before, whyther he hathe thys faythe to Cryste and loue to God and hys neghbour whych all he professed at baptisme, & thys souper signyfyed' (D1^r) and proceeds to warn the curate: 'see that he come not to the holy table of the lorde wythout that fayth whych he professed at hys baptisme, and also that loue whych the sacrament precheth & testifyeth unto hys herte' (D8^r).

This careful procedure was a matter of great import, because if the act of receiving was not adequately prepared for, the soul was endangered. *Supper* makes the threat clear: 'For he that eatith and drinketh unworthely, eteth & drynketh his own dampnacion' (D1^r). *Frutefull* also speaks of the unworthy eaters who, 'eating this holy souper eat & drinke their owne condemnacion' (D1^v) and concludes 'unto dethe & to their owne damnacion may thei eat and drinke it'

(D3^f). The role of the preacher was to ensure that all who wished to receive understood fully the true significance of the sacrament and also to prevent any unworthy communicants from disturbing the unifying celebration. Both *Frutefull* and *Supper* take their example from Paul, who (in 1 Corinthians 11:20–21, 34) had sought to keep pure the celebration of the Eucharist:

So that thyr comyng together whyche shuld haue bene a token of faithe and loue, was turned into thoccasyon and mater of dissencion and stryfe: because euery man dyd ete (as Paule sayth) hys owne souper and not the lordys souper: wheryn the brede and drynke is comon as well to the pore as to the ryche, but here the ryche dysdayned the pore and wolde not tarye for them. so that some (as the ryche) wente theyr waye dronken and ful: and the pore departed hongrye & drye, whyche was a token of no egal distrybucion of the brede and drynke. (*Supper*, C8^v)

Of whose sorte douteless were they whom the Apostle rebuketh / partely because the congregacion of the pore/not taryed for / they did eate the souper / as thoughe it had ben their owne priuate souper: so that they excedinge with a certayn excesse and superfluite / sought the meat of their owne bellyes rather then the meat of their mynde / nothing regarding the nede & pouertye of their owne members (*Frutefull*, fol. D2)

The importance placed by Joye on the worthy receiving of the sacrament, and the delineation of the ceremony as intended by Christ, as one that would bring out the best in both the individual participant and the congregation of brethren, finds a corresponding emphasis in *Supper*. The tract's overriding concern with putting an end to the popish profanation of the Eucharist is underlined in the biblical quotation that closes the *Supper*, which is a condensed form of one used later by Joye:

If any man tell ye, lo here is Cryste, or ther is he beleue hym not, For ther shal aryse false crystes false anoynted geuyng grete miracles. Take hede, I haue tolde ye before, yf thei therfore tel

ye: lo, he is in the deserte, go not forth: lo he is in the preuye
pixe. beleue it not. (*Supper*, D8^v)

For if any men (saith he) tell you. Lo here is Christ / or there is
he / beleue him not for ther shall aryse false anoynted. . . . Take
heed (sayth Christe) for I haue told it you before. If therfor they
tel you / lo he is in the deserte & solitary places of religion / go
not once forth / or say / see he is in the secrete places as in the
preuy pixe and secrete ciborye / beleue it not. (*Saviour*, A7^v)

Of course, the correct quote from Matthew 24 makes no mention of Jesus' being in 'the preuy pixe'.⁵³ The recurrence of the same addition in each case drives home the fervour with which the author denied the Real Presence of Christ in the bread and wine—the sensible signs of the sacrament. We know that both the condemnation of the belief in the Real Presence and the intrusive reference to it were anathema to Tyndale at the time *Supper* was written. This is made clear through his letter to John Frith, which instructed no mention to be made of the Real Presence. By 1533 Tyndale had adopted an inclusive policy, maintaining that unless there was a wicked opinion which went against Christ's doctrine, each party 'ought of dutye to Beare eche other'.⁵⁴ While placing particular stress on the necessary points of faith, he allowed certain conservative opinions, such as the Real Presence, to be considered as *adiaphora*: 'No more dothe yt hurte to saye, that the bodye and bloude are not in the sacrament. Nether doth it helpe to say they be there'.⁵⁵ His approach was one of necessary toleration, since the sacramentarian debate had by this stage spiralled beyond resolution. Tyndale settled for maintaining that there were things concerning the presence of Jesus Christ that he was 'not bound to believe':⁵⁶

Yet whether they affyrme the body and bloud to be present with
the bread and wyne, or the bread & wyne to be turned and
transsubstanciate into the body and bloud, I am therwyth con-
tent (for unities sake) yf they wyll ther cease. & let hym be
there, onely to testyfy & confyrme the testament or couenant
made in chrysts bloud and body.⁵⁷

The author of *Supper* felt more strongly about unworthily receiving the sacrament and offers no such tolerant views. He readily voices his inflammatory opinions and declares himself eager to continue the controversial debate. In works such as *Supper*, *Frutefull*, and *Saviour*, the importance of restoring the sacrament to its original institution, when 'all was playne simple easy to be had / moderate sobre decent and honest', superseded the danger inherent in public disagreement.⁵⁸ Joye signed off his *Refutation* against Stephen Gardiner 'yours to aunswer you at all tymes for the defence of gods veritie. George Joye' (Cc8^r). Although his name is absent from *Supper*, Joye's spirit is certainly not.

Supper's importance functions on several levels. It was written at a crisis point in religious history; it provides a prime example of the blossoming semantic awareness of the period; its influence on the early reformers and on Book of Common Prayer is marked. However, it was the implications for its author, as Tyndale was further exalted and as Joye was further denigrated, which highlighted the need for a resolution of the matter. Between Clebsch and Thompson the relevant historical evidence has been thoughtfully reexamined. Their arguments assert that, judging from all the external evidence, Joye is the far more likely author. Thompson remarks: 'The contents of 'The Supper of the Lord' unfortunately shed only a dim light on the question of authorship'.⁵⁹ I would disagree. Alongside Anthea Hume, I would argue that the most significant clues as to the identity of the author must necessarily lie within the contents of the *Supper*. The theology of the reformers was not monolithic, least of all their sacramentarian beliefs. In *The Supper of the Lord* not only are Joye's Zwinglian tenets, his commitment to disabusing the people of popish notions, and his concerns for the establishment of a reformed liturgy all evident, but they are conveyed through language characteristic specifically of George Joye.

Notes

1. For the main elements of the debate, see H. W., 'The Supper of the Lorde', in *N&Q*, 1, 23 (1850), pp. 362–63; J. F. Mozley, 'Tyndale's "Supper of the Lord"', in *N&Q*, 183, 11 (1942), pp. 305–06; J. F. Mozley,

'Tyndale's "Supper of the Lord"', in *N&Q*, 185, 3 (1943), p. 87; W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, 'Who wrote "The Supper of the Lord"?', in *Harvard Theological Review*, 53, 1 (1960), pp. 77-91; W. A. Clebsch, 'More Evidence That George Joye Wrote the Souper of the Lorde', in *Harvard Theological Review*, 55, 1 (1962), pp. 63-66.

2. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale University Press, London, 1992), p. 110.

3. There were two subsequent additions to the core text: Robert Crowley's preface of 1548 and 'A lytle complainte with a short exhortacion made unto al them, that are no dissemblers wyth Gods worde, but unfaynedlye lyue therafter'. The latter tract, found annexed to the end of one edition of *Supper*, is almost certainly by George Joye.

4. John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Stephen R. Cattley, 5 (London, 1841), p. 133.

5. All references are to this edition (STC 24468), which is almost certainly the first edition of *Supper*.

6. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer *et al.*, 8 (London, 1862-1910), [p. 823].

7. For the circular, see Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, 4, p. 518.

8. Mozley, *op. cit.* (1942).

9. George Joye, *A contrarye (to a certayne manis) consultacion: That adulterers ought to be punyshed wyth deathe* (STC 14822).

10. H.W., *op. cit.*

11. Mozley, *op. cit.* (1942), p. 306.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

13. *Ibid.*

14. From R. Demaus, *William Tyndale* (London, 1872), p. 367; qtd. by Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

15. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

16. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (London, 1937), p. 254.

17. Thomas More, 'The Answer to a Poisoned Book', in *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 11 (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1985), Introduction by Stephen M. Foley, p. 36.

18. Anthea Hume, 'A Study of the Writings of the English Protestant Exiles 1525-1535 (excluding their biblical translations)' (unpublished University of London thesis, 1961). I came across the thesis on nearing completion of this article and found that we had both taken a similar approach to the issue, although Hume restricted her argument to only one text of Joye's. Some of the important textual affinities between *Subversion* and *Supper* which are set forth in this article have also been delineated by Hume, but I have retained them in part because Hume's work is not readily accessible and also because they are here placed within the larger context of Joye's other works.

19. I suspect that Robert Crowley's use of the same colloquial titles derives from the works of Joye, whose influence may be discerned in Crowley's use of biblical texts.

20. *The Prophete Isaye*, A2^v.

21. *Refutation*, Bb3^r.

22. *The Prouerbes of Solomon / newly translated into Englyshe*, B2^r. A variation also occurs in Joye's preface to Jeremy, A6^v: 'So that in the Prophetis sermons there is no sicke hardnes & difficultye as some men complayneth of / except the sloughisshe and sleapye reder . . . '.

23. Compare Tyndale's rendition of the same verse: 'Jesus answered them and said: verily verily I say unto you: ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles: but because ye ate of the loaves, and were filled. +Labour, not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat that endureth unto everlasting life . . . ', John 6:26–27, *Tyndale's New Testament* (ed. David Daniell, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1989), p. 141.

24. *Our Sauour Jesus Christ hath not ouercharged his chirche with many ceremonies* (STC 14556). *Raught* is not to be found in Tyndale's New Testament, which translates the word as 'gave' in Mark 14, Matthew 26, and Luke 22.

25. 'Earnest money' functioned as a deposit; it was paid as pledge to secure a purchase.

26. See also the declaration of Anne Askew (martyred 1545): 'my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again' (Foxe, *op. cit.*, 5, p. 549). See also Robert Crowley's advice to the unlearned priest:

'To offer sacrifice therfor,
Thou arte not called, I tell the playne;
For Christe lieueth for euermore,
And can no more for vs be slayn'.

('The Select Works of Robert Crowley', in *Early English Text Society*, extra series, 15 [1872], p. 70)

27. Frith appears to have leaned towards the position of Joye: despite stating that 'the matter of this [the Real Presence] is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation', he also asserts that people, 'in so believing the sacrament to be the natural body, are not thereby saved, but receive it to their damnation' (Foxe, *op. cit.*, 5, pp. 6–7).

28. *Supper*, D8^v. Subsequent editions of *Supper* removed the slur, replacing it with 'M. More'.

29. *Unite and Scisme*, A5^r.

30. More, *op. cit.*, 8, 1, p. 226.

31. *Subversion*, E4^r; *Unite and Scisme*, A2^v.

32. *Refutation*, Bb3^r.

33. *George Joye Confuteth*, C2^r.

34. See *Unite and Scisme* (A8^v), and *Saviour* (B1^v).

35. A7^v. The pun is repeated later, B3^r: 'Thus may ye se how this olde holy upholder of the popis chirch, his wordis fight agenst themselfe into his owne confusion, in fyndinge us forthe his unwryten wryten vanites verites I shulde saie'. (More's 'unwryten wryten verite' is also referred to in *Subversion*, B4^r).

36. Mozley, *op. cit.* (1943).

37. *Supper*, A7^v.

38. *Refutation*, Cc5^v; *Subversion*, A2^r.

39. More, *op. cit.*, 5, p. 373 (my italics). In a sermon of 1526 John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, equated the saving faith of Luke 18:42 with the faith in and of the Church. He encouraged the recanting men to 'believe as the church believeth: that I may say unto each of you: rispice / fides tua te saluum fecit: Open thyne eyes / for this faith / that now hast / believing as the church of Christ believeth / hath saved thee'. *A sermon had at Paulis*, D3^v (spelling modernised).

40. More, *op. cit.*, 6, p. 185.

41. *Supper*, fol. A3. Later Joye warns of merchants who 'when thei shewe the whight, thou muste beleue it is blak', D5^r.

42. *Frutefull*, A2^v.

43. More, *op. cit.*, 6, p. 47.

44. *Frutefull*, B8^v—C1^r.

45. This assertion may have become a matter of contention between the Brethren, for in his preface of 1548 Robert Crowley sought to elucidate the statement, clarifying it further to avoid misinterpretation.

46. *Frutefull*, A3^r. *Supper* (B7^r) also mentions the 'utwarde sensible signe'.

47. I have not as yet found evidence that the phrase was current at the time of *Supper*. It was certainly in use by 1545, when John Lacels (one of the men burned with Anne Askew) testified that 'the blessed and immaculate Lamb is present to the eyes of our faith', Foxe, *op. cit.*, 5, p. 552.

48. This quote did not appear in the first edition of *Supper*, but in all subsequent printings. It may well have been added by Robert Crowley.

49. *Frutefull*, C6^r; C7^r.

50. *Supper*, D8^r; Joye, *The rekenynge and declaracion of the faythe and belefe of Huldrike zwyngly*, E2^r.

51. *Brief Declaration*, B4^v.

52. *Refutation*, B8^v; *Supper*, A5^v.

53. The pixe and the 'ciborye' (ciborium) were types of vessels in which the consecrated host was reserved. The latter resembled the modern-day altar tabernacle, while the former was a mobile container. Anne Askew was referring to a ciborium in her denial of the Real Presence: 'Then would they needs

know, if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood. I said, "Yea: for the same Son of God that was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven. . . . And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof (mark it when you list,) let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God"', Foxe, *op. cit.*, 5, p. 546.

54. *Brief Declaration*, E7^v.

55. *Ibid.*, E7^v–E8^r. See also Tyndale's letter to John Frith: 'If you be required, show the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will: for as to believe that God is everywhere, hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere but within in the heart, in spirit and verity; even so, to believe that the body of Christ is everywhere (though it cannot be proved), hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere save in the faith of his gospel', Foxe, *op. cit.*, 5, p. 133.

56. *Brief Declaration*, E4^v.

57. *Ibid.*, E4^v.

58. *Saviour*, Br^r.

59. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

The Enigmatic *Unio Dissidentium*: Tyndale's 'Heretical' Companion?

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In his *Answer* to Thomas More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, William Tyndale accuses More of selectivity in the authority he attaches to the teachings of the Church Fathers, the Christian writers of the early Church, with some honorary 'Fathers' of later centuries added—for example, Bede, Theophylact, and Bernard.

More, predictably and characteristically, had alleged that Martin Luther relied solely upon the authority of Scripture and ignored the Fathers, as representing the authority of Tradition. Tyndale rejoined:

And ye will come at *no* Scripture onely. And as for the old doctours, ye will heare as little, save when it pleaseth you, for all your crying old holy fathers. For tell me this, why have ye in England condem[n]ed the Union of Doctours, but because ye would not have your falsehead disclosed by the doctrine of them.¹

It was John Foxe who firmly identified the 'Union of Doctours' with the *Unio Dissidentium*: a handbook containing some 550 patristic passages and a much greater number from the Bible arranged in sections, under theological headings although a word of caution needs to be injected here. By 1530 other collections of patristic passages, generally favourable to what can be lumped together as 'Reformation' theology, were beginning to be published. However, the identification of the 'Union of Doctours' with *Unio Dissidentium* has stood and can be accepted. It must be said in parenthesis, however, that whatever the theological stance of *Unio Dissidentium*, it is not Lutheran.

The first certain date of publication of *Unio Dissidentium* is March 1527, when the First Part appeared, and in October of that year

the Second Part was published,² both by Martin de Keyser at Antwerp, although the seventeenth-century bibliographer Christoph Hendreich claimed to have discovered a copy of the first section of the First Part—on the fall of Adam and original sin—published in Swabia in 1516.³ If Hendreich is right, that is the first of the curious literary and theological enigmas of this volume.

On its initial publication *Unio Dissidentium* was made up of ten sections concerned with current theological debate: original sin, infant baptism, predestination, the nature and function of law; grace and merit; faith and works; and human ordinances. The Second Part contained sections on the value of the word of God; penitence; brotherly correction; fasting and prayer; indulgences; the Eucharist; ecclesiastical ordinances; 'all Christians are kings, priests and prophets, but not all ministers of the Church'; the honouring of saints; and antichrist. By the time of the publication of the 1531 edition (also from the press of Martin de Keyser of Antwerp) a further three sections had been added: on expensive funerals; on the flight and persecution of Christians; and a work of pseudo-Augustine, *De essentia divinitatis*. From 1531 onwards, editions began to appear from presses other than that of de Keyser, although a second note of caution needs to be injected here. It was a common device during the sixteenth century whenever persecution threatened—and as we shall see, persecution did threaten possessors of *Unio Dissidentium* by 1531—for a book to bear the name of a place of publication different from that where it was actually published. In the case of some editions of *Unio Dissidentium*, particularly the later ones, the type font is clearly not that of de Keyser, and the work was certainly published in French and German by different printers.

Now, although the section headings and roughly the number of patristic authors quoted are the same in all editions, some of the passages quoted are not the same in all editions, giving rise thereby to possible changes of emphasis in meaning, and certainly of nuance. This means that the *Unio Dissidentium* contains a few traps for the unwary. The Venice edition, published in 1539, for example, contains patristic extracts on grace and merit not found in any other edition, just sufficient to raise the possibility that 'merit' does play a part in man's redemption, while another seems to favour a realist interpretation of the eucharistic Presence. The 1527 French edition contains a passage

from Augustine's *Adversus Judaeus* peculiar to that edition, urging an attitude of humility and understanding towards Jews, while the 1539 French edition contains a short passage from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* Book VIII not found in any other edition. It is of utmost importance, therefore, to be quite specific about the edition of *Unio Dissidentium* to which you are referring; there is no definitive edition. Another of its enigmas!

Within the limits necessarily imposed upon patristic scholarship during the first half of the sixteenth century, the majority of the works of the Fathers of the late third century and those of the fourth and fifth centuries are genuine in all twenty-four editions of *Unio Dissidentium* that I have been able to examine and are quoted from the most recent humanist editions available. The same cannot be said of the Fathers of the third century and earlier, simply because their works were not readily available and writings attributed to them were, often, spurious. (The letters of Ignatius were available in Latin, though in the Long Recension, from 1498, but not in Greek until 1557; a defective Latin text of the *Shepherd* of Hermas appeared in 1513, but the first Greek text only in 1866, while there was no complete Greek text of the *Didache* available until 1883). Origen is quoted in *Unio Dissidentium* from the Latin edition of Badius of 1513; no part of Origen was available in Greek until 1602.)

The editions of patristic texts by Christian humanist scholars like Erasmus and Beatus Rhenanus were not perfect, as they indicated in some of their prefaces. Sometimes that was for reasons for which they could not be held responsible: no better text was available. Sometimes it was because of inaccurate identifications, such as attributing to Clement of Rome the authorship of the so-called Epistle of James, the Brother of the Lord. Sometimes they seem to have suffered from blind spots; the compiler of *Unio Dissidentium*, for example, attributes to Athanasius *scholæ* on the Pauline Epistles, which are in fact by the eleventh-century exegete Theophylact, the pages of a copy of whose work he had to turn over in order to reach the sections he correctly attributed to Theophylact. Even Erasmus says of those *scholæ* that if they are not by Athanasius, they should be; they resemble his teaching so much. To be fair, however, this uncertainty over texts is reflected in the *Unio Dissidentium*: after 1529, when the Erasmus edition of

Augustine was published, the Augustine passages in *Unio Dissidentium* are, in the main, quoted from that edition rather than from the less reliable Amerbach edition of 1506.

With the exception of the translation of the Greek text (by then readily available) of Chrysostom's *Homilies* on Matthew and John, and Theophylact's *scholæ* on John, by Oecolampadius, the reformer of Basle and a distinguished patristic scholar of that day, the editors of all fourteen Fathers quoted in *Unio Dissidentium* belonged to the 'Old Church', though firmly within the Christian humanist tradition. These considerations serve to emphasise the care needed in unravelling the teachings of *Unio Dissidentium*, in particular, the need to rely on the same editions of the Fathers that the compiler of *Unio Dissidentium* used.

The compiler of *Unio Dissidentium* calls himself Hermanus Bodius. But no Hermanus Bodius has ever been traced. The fact that his book was included among *incertorum auctorum libri prohibiti* in the *Index* of 1590 suggests that uncertainty about the identity of the compiler existed from a relatively early date. The most obvious explanation is that Bodius was a 'one-book' man who perished in obscurity. Foxe, who refers to *Unio Dissidentium* more than any other contemporaneous writer, and from whom we have an indication of the wide influence of the book in England, accepts the name of the compiler as that of a real person. However, if such a person did exist, it is remarkable that no mention of him is to be found, given the wide international circulation of the book. Equally remarkable is the fact that only single copies of several of the editions appear to have survived. By the mid-eighteenth century one bibliographer, S. Engel, could describe it as 'rare'⁴ and another, T. Sincerus, as 'little known'.⁵ Perhaps the compiler and his book were compelled to 'go to ground'?

Over thirty years ago, partly developing an hypothesis of Théophile Dufour, I put forward Martin Bucer,⁶ the leader of the Strasbourg reformation, as compiler, because of the weight *Unio Dissidentium* attaches to 'brotherly correction', an important element in Bucer's theology. Also two other concerns important for Bucer are reflected in *Unio Dissidentium*: 'working with one's hands' and the threefold vocation of the Christian as 'priest, king and prophet'. Over the years, however, I have become more inclined to regard Oecolampadius, 'runner up' in my

1965 article, as the more likely compiler. The eucharistic teaching of *Unio Dissidentium* corresponds quite closely with that of Oecolampadius, which in turn was profoundly influenced by that of a shadowy figure, the Netherlander Henne (or John) Rhode (Rhodius), a member of the Brethren of the Common Life and head of their school at Utrecht until his expulsion in 1522 for his evangelical opinions. The late Dr M. E. Kroneberg, a distinguished Dutch bibliographer, suggested that as 'Bode' is a common name for Lowlander, that might have been the actual name of the compiler or the name might have been used to denote his geographical origin.

Rhodius was a pedlar of the eucharistic theology of the noted Dutch Jurist Cornelius Hoen, whose letters he carried, maintaining that the Eucharist is unity of sign and presence, of which the Sacrament is the pledge of his Gift, but not the Gift itself. Rhodius had clearly embraced that belief himself and went first of all to Luther to urge it upon him. But Luther would have none of it and threw Rhodius and his theology out of his house.⁷ Rhodius then went to Switzerland, where he had better success. Oecolampadius had been developing a eucharistic doctrine along similar lines to that of Hoen, which Oecolampadius enunciated in his *De Genuina Verborum Domini* (1534) based on his reading of patristic theology of which his knowledge, as I have said, was profound for his day.

A further possible link with Oecolampadius is to be found in the placard published by the Leyden Town Council in the name of the Regent, Mary of Habsburg, on 8 January 1530, stating which books by Melanchthon and Oecolampadius were allowed and which proscribed. Immediately following the authorisation of a '*tabula*' on the books of St Jerome by Oecolampadius, 'made before his apostasy and heresy', comes this tantalising paragraph:

Also forbidden is a book entitled *Unio Dissidentium*, for the reason that he only quotes the old 'doctores'. . . in so far as they apparently use those arguments which may be addressed to further Luther's doctrine, and he does not quote them when they unite plainly against the said Luther.⁸

That would seem to identify Oecolampadius as the compiler of *Unio Dissidentium*, except that for the next book mentioned in the

placard, another collection of patristic texts, the name of the compiler is not mentioned. On the other hand, near the beginning of the placard is a directive that Oecolampadius's notes and commentary on Chrysostom (i.e., that were quoted in *Unio Dissidentium*) 'must not be sold nor left in the hands of the people'. Based on that evidence (and apart from it we have to rely on internal evidence), the finger points in the direction of Oecolampadius.

We can now develop the heresy aspect. The title page of a majority of the editions of *Unio Dissidentium* states that the compiler offers his book '*unitatis ac pacis amatoribus*': a hope speedily shattered. Three years before the publication of the Leyden placard, the book was condemned by Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London,⁹—the most obvious reason for More's knowledge of it, since he was licensed to examine heretical books—and condemned in England on several occasions before 1530 and 1538. The Louvain Theological Faculty included it in its *Index* of 1546, and it appears in its later *Index* editions of 1550 and 1558. It was condemned in the *Index* of Milan and the *Index* of Venice, 1554; of Paul IV, 1559; and in the Spanish *Index* of Valdes of 1559; condemned again in the *Index* of Pius IV, 1564; in that of the Spanish Inquisitor General, Quiroga, of 1583; and of Sixtus V, 1590.¹⁰ By then, it might reasonably be presumed that a large part of literate Europe must have been aware of the opinion of the Roman Catholic Church on the book.

We come now to the most curious feature about this book. In 1602 an edition was published by Nikolaus Kalt, *Typographi Ordinari[us]* to the bishop of Constance, dedicated to '*Reverendissimo et Illustrissimo Principi ac Domini D. Jeanni Georgio Halviel, electo et confirmato Episcopo Constantiense*'. John George Halviel was certainly bishop of Constance in that year,¹¹ and Nicholas Kalt his printer.¹² Yet there are no substantial differences in the text between that edition of *Unio Dissidentium* and editions published in the 1530s, apart from those inclusions already noted. That is the greatest enigma of all connected with *Unio Dissidentium*. Admittedly, the course of the Reformation in Constance differed from most other places; even so, a book condemned so many times would hardly have found favour with a Catholic bishop. Was it perhaps being questioned whether the book was all that heretical after all? Was the climate of opinion changing?

After all, Hugo von Hohenlandenberg was not averse to reform in Constance during his episcopate; also, Constance is closer to that area of Central Europe where in the early seventeenth century there was a kind of ecumenical experiment which so fascinated James I and led to much correspondence on the matter between him and Duke Ratzivil. (Incidentally, was the compiler still the same Hermanus Bodius? He must have been well over eighty by 1602! Not that that mattered if *Unio Dissidentium* had always been published under a pseudonym.)

The fact is that despite the Protestant sense in which the sections on grace and merit, faith and works can be understood and those sections showing close affinity with the theology of some of the Swiss reformers, some sections of the work, especially that on the Eucharist, can be interpreted in a 'reformed-Catholic' sense. To the extent that within that context the work was apparently proved acceptable by 1602, the editor had succeeded in his aim of offering a basis on which both sides might agree.

The crucial issue was one of authority. The *Unio Dissidentium*, in common with the canons of contemporaneous scholarship for works of that genre, sought to assert its *authority* by the number of quotations it amassed, regardless of their original contexts. It sought to prove its *orthodoxy* by the number and standing of the authors cited; the Fathers were called upon to stand bail, as it were, for the doctrines the compiler wished to enunciate. That is why the compiler urged his readers to get behind contemporaneous arguments, to which new books only add, because they tend *ad schismata ac pestiferas factiones*.¹³ His opponents would naturally argue that it was the compiler who was in schism because in separating himself from the Church he was already a heretic, having broken the bonds of unity and peace, regardless of what he wrote. Could it be that by the time of the 1602 edition (the last, as far as I have been able to discover, that was published) there were the glimmerings, however tentative, of a change in attitude, a change which was to lead to endeavours we have found associated with King James of England and Prince Ratzivil, in which space could be found for men of eirenic outlook such as the compiler of the *Unio Dissidentium* seems to have been?

Notes

1. *An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, The Whole Workes of W Tyndall, John Firth and Doct[or] Barnes* . . . (London, 1573 ed.), p. 338.
2. All the Antwerp editions were published by Martin de Keyser, as were most of those bearing a Cologne imprint.
3. C. Hendreich, *Pandecta Brandenburgica* (Berlin, 1699), p. 616.
4. S. Engel, *Bibliotheca Selecta*, 1 (Berne, 1743), p. 25.
5. T. Sincerus, *Neue Sammlung von lauter alten und raren Buchen*, 6 (Nürnberg, 1754), p. 511.
6. R. Peters, 'Who Compiled the Sixteenth-Century Patristic Handbook *Unio Dissidentiurn*?' *Studies in Church History*, ed. G. J. Cuming, 2 (Thomas Nelson & Sons, London, 1965), pp. 237-50.
7. I owe this point to the late Dr A. Hyma, of the University of Michigan, who kindly gave me a copy of the letters Rhodius carried.
8. I am grateful to Drs W. and L. Hellinga for obtaining a copy of the placard for me and to Dr L. Hellinga for deciphering and translating it.
9. *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII*, IV, no. 2607. But the date must be wrong. Presumably the year 1527 was intended.
10. H. Reusch, *Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum de Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1866). (The photographic reprint of 1961 has been used), *passim*.
11. *De Mas Latrice, Tresor de Chronique* (Paris, 1889), col. 214.
12. J. Benzig, *Buchdrucker Lexikon des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1952), p. 100, contains several references to Kalt.
13. *Unio Dissidentium* (Basle, 1537), sig. A3a.

Augustine in *Unio Dissidentium* and Tyndale's *Answer to More*¹

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William Tyndale refers to the Fathers of the Church most frequently in his *Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (1531) because appeal to tradition was an important polemical weapon for countering More. Since Tyndale's first concern was mastering biblical Greek and Hebrew and he concentrated his energies in study and translation, he perhaps relied on others as a guide to the Fathers. Might he have used Gratian's *Decretals* or Aquinas's *Catena Aurea*? Did he merely cite the references Erasmus made in his Annotations on the New Testament? Did his friend John Frith point out significant passages? Finally, how much did Tyndale borrow from *Unio Dissidentium*, the patristic handbook he names in *Answer to More*? 'Whi haue ye in englonde condemned the vnion of doctours but because ye wold not haue youre falshed disclosed by the doctrine of them' (*Answer*, P4^v; PS III, 187).² Even though he lived on the Continent, Tyndale was correct in asserting that *Unio* was banned in England. In *Acts and Monuments*, John Foxe translates an order from Cuthbert Tunstal—the same bishop of London from whom Tyndale unsuccessfully sought permission to make an English translation of the Bible c. 1524—for confiscating dangerous books, including Tyndale's New Testament and *Unio*.³

Unio is a collection of short scriptural passages printed in roman type, interspersed with longer patristic passages printed in italic. The compiler gives his name as Hermannus Bodius, perhaps a pseudonym for Martin Bucer of Strassburg or Johannes Oecolampadius of Basel.⁴ *Unio*'s purpose was to gather ancient precedents for the major positions of the reformers. Part 1, for example, deals with original sin, predestination, divine and human law, grace and merit, faith and works. Among other topics, Part 2 treats confession broadly conceived, the Eucharist, and the Antichrist.

Unio quotes approximately 570 passages from the Fathers, Christian authors who wrote before rhetorical theology was replaced by dialectic in the thirteenth century. Nine Fathers cited by Tyndale, most in *Answer* and a few in *Obedience*, are found in *Unio*: Augustine (42 percent), Pseudo-Augustine (1 percent), Jerome (14 percent), Chrysostom (10 percent), Origen (6 percent), Ambrose (5 percent), Cyprian (3 percent), Prosper (3 percent), Gregory the Great (2 percent), and Bede (1 percent).⁵ However, unlike Tyndale, *Unio* does not mention Pseudo-Dionysius.

In this article, based on the Folger copy of an edition printed in 1531 or later in Antwerp⁶ (Tyndale's base of operation), I will examine *Unio Dissidentium* on four topics important to both Augustine and Tyndale: the primacy of Scripture, the threat of heresy, justification by grace, and church rituals.

I.

In taking the offensive against Tyndale, in *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, More claims the priority of the Church over Scripture. More repeats the assertion of Augustine, 'I sholde not byleue the gospell / but yf it were for the chyrche' (CWM 6/1, 181/11–12).⁷ *Unio* does not quote this principle from Augustine's early treatise *Against the Epistle of Manichæus called Fundamental* (AD 396) (not in *UD*; *INPNF*, 4, p. 131),⁸ but Tyndale does, 'I had not beleued the gospell / excepte the auctorite of the church had moued me' (*Answer*, D₄^v–D₅^r; PS III, 49). Tyndale then offers a counterinterpretation of 'church': not the hierarchy with its doctrinal pronouncements, but ordinary Christians with their faithful observance and patient suffering. This motivational definition of 'church' is similar to that of the fourteenth-century Augustinian Gregory of Rimini.⁹

Augustine thus judges the Church by Scripture (even though it is a complex collection of texts composed by many human authors). He deals with apparent contradictions between different passages, for example, the teachings of Paul and James on faith and good works. Because God is the ultimate author of the various books of the Bible, Augustine trusts in its overall coherence. In Ep. 82, to Jerome (AD 405), he explains his method of reconciling interpretations:

If I do find anything in these books which seems contrary to truth, I decide that either the text is corrupt, or the translator did not follow what was really said, or that I failed to understand it. But when I read other authors, however eminent they may be in sanctity and learning, I do not necessarily believe a thing is true because they think so, but because they have been able to convince me, either on the authority of the canonical writers or by a probable reason which is not inconsistent with the truth. (*UD* 1, X2^V; Parsons, 1, p. 392)¹⁰

Since Augustine believes that God wants to communicate His message of salvation to both simple and wise, the former rhetorician trusts in the perspicacity of the Bible. In Ep. 137, to Volusian (AD 412), he affirms:

The very language in which Holy Scripture is expressed is easy for all, although understood by very few. . . . It invites all in simple language, and feeds their minds with its teaching in plain words, while training them in the truth by its hidden message, having the same effect in both the obvious and the obscure. (*UD* 2, B1^V–B2; Parsons, 3, p. 34; omissions mine)¹¹

Augustine admires his predecessors, such as Cyprian of Carthage and Hilary of Poitiers, but cites them only briefly in *On Marriage and Concupiscence* '[lest] I should probably seem to have bestowed less preference than I ought on canonical authorities, from which one must never deviate' (*UD* 1, Y3; *INPNE*, 5, p. 304).¹² Tyndale notes approvingly that Augustine submits his own work to the rule of Scripture, 'S. Augustine protesteth of his workes that men shuld compare them vn to the scripture and therby iudge them and cast away whatsoever the scripture dyd not alowe' (*Answer*, L4; PS III, 136). The best witness to Augustine's respect for true authority comes from *On the Holy Trinity* (AD 399–422), Prologue to Bk 3, 'Do not be willing to yield to my writings as to the canonical Scriptures' (*UD* 1, X3; *INPNE*, 3, p. 56).¹³ That *Unio* makes only one citation from Augustine's most exalted work of speculative theology is surprising, but *Unio* can do so because Catholics and the magisterial reformers both accept

the Trinity.¹⁴ This lone quotation is significant because it asserts the primacy of Scripture.

II.

In order to demonstrate the orthodoxy of the reformers, *Unio Dissidentium* frequently quotes Augustine's writings against heresy: Manichæism (for two supreme principles at work in the universe), Donatism (for a virtuous clergy as the guarantee of efficacious sacraments), and, most important, Pelagianism (for the sufficiency of human willpower to avoid evil and do good). The primary meaning of *hairesis* in classical Greek is 'a taking', for example, 'the taking of Babylon'. The influence of the middle voice led to a secondary meaning, 'a taking for oneself', that is, 'a course of action or thought'. In Hellenistic Greek, the word now meaning 'teaching or school' was used to translate the Hebrew *minim*, first in a neutral, then in a negative sense. This development, in turn, affected the Greek of the New Testament, where *hairesis* occurs in the singular or plural eight times. Tyndale translates with 'sect' or 'sects' all but once. He uses 'heresy' when Paul explains his religious position to the Gentile judge Felix, 'But this I confess unto thee, that after that way (which they call heresy) so worship I the God of my fathers' (Acts 24:14).¹⁵ Jerome explains *hairesis*: 'It is so called from the word 'choice' because each one chooses for himself that teaching which he prefers' (Mueller, pp. 38–43 and n. 41).¹⁶ Augustine's handbook, *On Heresies* (c. AD 428–429), not quoted in *Unio*, briefly summarises and refutes the teachings of eighty-eight groups from the apostolic era to his own.

With his expert knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, Tyndale uses the word 'heresy' in *Answer* with a nuanced awareness of its Hellenistic meaning of 'religious sect' or 'philosophical school'. He writes against More, 'And when he speaketh of sectes of heretykes . . . ye haue as many sundrie sectes as all Monkes and freres and studentes in diuinite in all youre vniuersites' (*Answer*, K7; PS III, 128). Tyndale acknowledges that More accuses him of heresy, not on the Trinity but for lesser issues of church government: for translating *ekklesia* as 'congregation', not 'church' (*Answer*, A6^v; PS III, 13) and *presbyteros* as 'elder', not 'priest' (*Answer*, A8; PS III, 16). Tyndale turns the table on More by claiming in several places (*Answer*, C8, D2, I6^v; PS III, 42, 45, 114–15)

that the medieval Church, though prior in time and larger in number, is the heretical group. By returning to the bare text of Scripture, the reformers claim the true faith (*Answer*, H7; PS III, 103).

Among the many selections in *Unio*, Augustine addresses the issue of church unity most clearly in 'Homily 3', *On the First Epistle of John* (AD 406–407). More would agree with the first part of the passage, 'Certainly all who go out from the Church, and are cut off from the unity of the Church, are antichrists' (*UD* 2, Q6^V; *INPNF*, 7, p. 478),¹⁷ but Tyndale might counter with the second part, 'Whosoever in his deeds denies Christ, is an antichrist. I listen not to what he says, but I look what life he leads. Works speak, and do we require words?' (*UD* 2, Q7^V; *INPNF*, 7, pp. 478–79).¹⁸ (A comparison between Augustine's *Homilies on I John* and Tyndale's *Exposition of I John* [1531] would be a fruitful topic for further research.)

The early modern Catholic Church did not let the reformers go in peace but tried to preserve unity through force. More defends this policy by asserting, 'The clergie doeth nothyng vn to the heretikes but as the holy doctours did' (*Answer*, R5^V; PS III, 214). *Unio* quotes one statement from Augustine on the moral suasion used against the Donatists. This group rejected the validity of baptism and ordination administered by those accused of compromising their faith during the Great Persecution under Diocletian (AD 303–313). In an early letter to the Donatist primate, Augustine asserts, Ep. 88, Catholic Clergy of Hippo to Januarius (AD 406):

Meanwhile, if ever we hold any of yours, we preserve them unharmed with great affection; we speak to them and read to them whatever can prove the error that separates brother from brother. . . . But if they refuse to join the unity of Christ . . . , we let them go as unharmed as we held them. We urge the same course on our laymen, as far as we can: to hold them unhurt and bring them to us to be corrected and instructed. (*UD* 2, E6^{r-v}; Parsons, 2, pp. 30–31; omissions mine)¹⁹

Unio might well have quoted the treatise in letter form, written a decade later (Ep. 185, *On the Treatment of the Donatists*, to Count Boniface) (AD 417). Here, in chapter 21, Augustine now approves the

use of physical coercion against schismatics by the secular government: 'We have proved by experience and do still prove that it has been a blessing to many to be driven first by bodily pain, in order afterward to be instructed, or to follow up in act what they have learned in words' (not in *UD*; Parsons, 4, p. 161).²⁰

Nor does *Unio* quote chapter 26, in which Augustine gives fines and exile as examples of 'Christian moderation', while eschewing the death penalty.²¹ Tyndale concludes *Answer to More* by commenting on current practice, 'But ye because ye haue no power to delyuer them to sathan [cf. 1 Corinthians 5:4] to blynde theyr myndes / ye deliuer them to the fyre to destroy their flesh' (*Answer*, R5^v; PS III, 215). Tyndale grimly foresees his own death.

III.

When citing Augustine as the champion of orthodoxy, *Unio* focuses on his attacks on Pelagianism, belief in human self-sufficiency. From the reformers' perspective, late medieval nominalists who claimed that the human will unaided by grace could love God above all else were neo-Pelagians and they themselves were the heirs of Augustine. *Unio* lays claim to this inheritance through its forty anti-Pelagian quotations, its largest group of selections from Augustine's writings.

The most Augustinian way to approach an examination of Augustine's theology of grace and works is to begin with Scripture. In the period between his ordination as priest and bishop (AD 391–396), Augustine wrote brief commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians; unfortunately, his *Exposition on James* is lost. Tyndale appeals to Augustine to explain the position of James on faith and works (*Answer*, Q5; PS III, 200). Augustine does this well when he reconciles the apparent contradiction between the teachings of Paul and James. Among *Unio*'s many selections, the clearest statement occurs in *Eighty-Three Different Questions* (c. AD 395–396). In chapter 76, entitled 'On the Claim of the Apostle James: "Would you like to know, you empty-headed man, that faith without works is useless?"' Augustine contrasts good works before and after initial justification:

Wherefore the statements of the two apostles Paul and James are not contrary to one another when one says that a man is

justified by faith without works [Romans 3:28], and the other says that faith without works is vain [cf. James 2:20]. For the former is speaking of the works which precede faith, whereas the latter, of those which follow on faith. (*UD* 1, Q5; Mosher, p. 196)²²

Augustine's explanation differs from Tyndale's, which addresses good works after initial justification, 'But fayth iustifieth in the herte and before god / and the dedes before the world only' (*Answer*, Q5^v; PS III, 202). Furthermore, Tyndale differs from Luther, who contrasts true sinfulness before God [*coram Deo*] and apparent righteousness before humans [*coram hominibus*].²³ In various ways, these theologians struggle to express the paradoxical truth of justification by faith.

Throughout his long career as bishop (AD 396–430), Augustine returned to the theme of the gratuitousness of initial justification. In a sermon against the Pelagians, *On the Words of the Apostle*, Philippians 3:3, he crafts epigrammatic sentences to express his meaning the better, 'Grace came before your deserving, or merit; it isn't grace coming from merit, but merit from grace' (*UD* 1, K1; Sermon 169, Rotelle 3/5, 224).²⁴ The topic of initial justification also appears frequently in Tyndale. Like Augustine, Tyndale can also use the ornaments of style—here exclamation and alliteration—to enhance his message, 'O whother wandereth a fleshly minde / as though we first sought out god. Nay / God knoweth his and seketh them out and sendeth his mesingers vnto them and geueth them an hert to vnderstonde' (*Answer*, I5; PS III, 112). Tyndale expresses mock incredulity when he acknowledges that More also believes in the gratuity of initial justification, 'And when Master More is come to him selfe & sayth the first fayth and the first iustifienge is geuen vs with out oure deseruinge. God be thanked / and I wold fayne that he wold describe me what he meaneth by the seconde iustifienge' (*Answer*, Q6^v–7^r; PS III, 203).

Christians who commit serious sin after baptism are in need of another justification. Augustine praises this renewal of justifying grace in *Unfinished Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (AD 394–395), 'And here too grace precedes the reward of repentance, so that no one can repent his own sin unless he is first admonished by God's call' (*UD* 1, K4; Landes, p. 63).²⁵ Where More emphasises the sacrament of Penance as the medium of this grace, Tyndale relies directly on

'the faith of a repentyng soule in Christes bloude' (*Answer*, O3; PS III, 172).

If grace marks the beginning and middle of one's spiritual journey, it also marks the end. In a late treatise, *On Rebuke and Grace* (AD 426), Augustine asserts that grace rewards grace:

[S]ince even that life eternal itself, which, it is certain, is given as due to good works, is called by so great an apostle [Paul] the grace of God, although grace is not rendered to works, but is given freely, it must be confessed without any doubt, that eternal life is called grace [because] it is rendered to those merits which grace has conferred upon man. (*UD* 1, K3^v; *1NPNF*, 5, pp. 488–89)²⁶

Tyndale rejects even the slightest claim to heaven as a reward, 'And of the lawe of god we thinke . . . as did the olde hethen people / how that it is a thinge which euery man maye doo of his awne power / and in doynge therof becometh good and waxeth rightuouse and deserueth heven' (*Answer*, A5; PS III, 11).

Augustine, More, and Tyndale would agree on the necessity for God's initiative at the beginning, middle, and end of human action. Augustine and Tyndale, however, seem to differ from More in three major instances: God as the cause of good and evil, the relationship between God's foreknowledge and His will, and human inability to obey God's commands.

These three topics occur in Tyndale's answer to the Fourth Book of More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, where Tyndale is winding up his refutation. First, Tyndale cites More as protesting, 'Item that god is auctor of good & euell' (*Answer*, O4^v; PS III, 175). Tyndale might have cited *On Grace and Free Will* (AD 425), where after quoting many scriptural texts Augustine concludes, 'It is, I think, sufficiently clear that God works in the hearts of men to incline their wills whithersoever He wills, whether to good deeds according to His mercy, or to evil after their own deserts' (*UD* 1, E2^v; *1NPNF*, 5, p. 463).²⁷ Tyndale does not attribute evil to God's will but to the devil's influence.

Next, Tyndale quotes More's claim that God's foreknowledge of future human action caused His choice, 'God sawe before that Peter shuld

repent and Iudas wolde dyspeare / and therfore chose Peter' (*Answer*, R2; PS III, 208). More's position agrees with the early thought of Augustine in *An Explanation of the Epistle to the Romans* (AD 394–395). But Augustine corrects his opinion on the merit of faith in *To Simplicianus* (AD 395 or 396) and in his *Retractions* (AD 426–427), 'It was still necessary to question . . . whether this mercy, then, is shown only to a man because he is faithful; or whether, in truth, it is shown that he may become faithful' (*UD* I, O4^V; Bogan, p. 100; omission mine).²⁸

Third, Tyndale quotes More's question, 'Wherefore serueth exhortacions vn to fayth / if the hearers haue not libertye of their frewyll' (*Answer*, R3^V; PS III, 210). Augustine explains that just because God promises rewards for keeping the commandments, it does not follow that humans have the power to do so. In *On Man's Perfection in Righteousness* (AD 415?), he offers as God's intention 'That man might receive commandments, trusting as he did in his own resources, and that, failing in these and becoming a transgressor, he might ask for a deliverer and a saviour' (*UD* I, G6; *INPNF*, 5, p. 175).²⁹ A decade later, in *On Grace and Free Will* (AD 425), Augustine repeats this reason, 'But God commands some things which we cannot do, in order that we may know what we ought to ask of Him' (not in *UD*; *INPNF*, 5, p. 457).³⁰ Tyndale is fair to his opponent in quoting the invocation of God's grace in the rest of More's question.

As a result of receiving grace freely, the soul ought to feel gratitude and joy. In *Against Two Letters of the Pelagians* (AD 419–420), Augustine opposes keeping the law 'by terror of punishment, not by love and delight in righteousness' (*UD* I, K7^V; *INPNF*, 5, p. 382).³¹ Although they are both named *Enchiridion*, Erasmus's *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* (AD 1503) is an early work, while Augustine's handbook, *On Faith, Hope, and Love* (AD 422–423), is a mature work. How encouraging then to see Augustine's joy, not fatigue, in the late afternoon of his life, 'And this is true liberty, for he has pleasure in the righteous deed' (*UD* I, K4; *INPNF*, 3, p. 247).³² While we are amused at Tyndale's sardonic jibes, we are more likely to find a spirit of quiet joy from repeated readings of his independent works. Tyndale truly believes that justification by faith writes the law in our hearts, thus enabling us to keep it out of love. Variations on this passage from Jeremiah 31:33 quoted by Hebrews 8:10 and 10:15 occur twenty-three times in *Answer*,

but the following quotation expresses Tyndale's ideal perhaps best: '[The elect resist sin] with the helpe of the spirite / thorow prayar / fastynge and seruinge their neybour's louingly with all maner seruice / out of the law that is written in their hertes' (*Answer*, I6^v; PS III, 114). Augustine and Tyndale can both be named 'Doctors of Grace and Charity' or, in Tyndale's case, 'Love'.

IV.

The last section on Tyndale's possible debts to *Unio* examines religious rites under four headings: the Eucharist, Penance, honoring of saints, and minor religious ceremonies.

In his answer to More's fourth book of *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, Tyndale outlines his understanding of the Eucharist. He rejects Transubstantiation in affirming that bread remains after the words of consecration. For Tyndale, the formula invokes the memory of Christ's death and inspires the believer to receive the elements devoutly. Tyndale quotes Jesus' words from the 'bread of life' discourse: 'It is the spirite that quikeneth / the flesh profiteth nothyng at all' (John 6:63, *Answer*, O7; PS III, 178). According to *Unio*, John 6 is one of Augustine's favorite Gospel sources. In fact, *Unio* twice quotes Sermon 131, on John 6:53–66: in the chapter on the Eucharist (*UD* 2, I6^v; Rotelle 3/4, 317–18), and in the chapter on grace and merit (*UD* 1, 15–17; Rotelle, 3/4, 319–22). Two other citations are from the *Tractates on the Gospel of John* (AD 406–407, 419–424), in which Augustine reworked his sermon series into a more polished prose. These passages emphasise a spiritual eating of the Eucharist in faith: 'To what purpose dost thou make ready teeth and stomach? Believe, and thou hast eaten already' from Tractate 25 on John 6:29 (*UD* 1, O6^{r-v}; *INPNF*, 7, p. 164);³³ 'Certainly then, at least, you will see that not in the manner you suppose does He dispense His body; certainly then, at least, you will understand that His grace is not consumed by tooth-biting' from Tractate 27 on John 6:62 (*UD* 2, K1; *INPNF*, 7, p. 174).³⁴

Although the Eucharist is the more important sacrament, Tyndale gives greater attention to Penance, 'shryft in the eare' (*Answer*, B3^v; PS III, 22) or 'eareconfession' (*Answer*, L2^v, O2; PS III, 132, 170). Tyndale quotes More's assertion that 'S. Augustine & S. Hierom doo proue

with holy scripture that confession is of necessite vn to saluacion', but he objects that 'the vse was once ferre other then now' (*Answer*, R5; PS III, 213).³⁵ *Unio* quotes Augustine's *Confessions* (AD 397–401) in the chapter on penance and triple confession: divine, fraternal, and public, 'What then have I to do with men, that they should hear my confessions, as if they were going to cure all my diseases?' [cf. Psalm 103:3], (*UD* 2, C6^v; *INPNF*, I, p. 142).³⁶ In the same section, *Unio* quotes another statement on private penance, Ep. 265, to Seleuciana (n.d.), 'There is also the almost daily penance of the good and humble among the faithful by which we strike our breasts saying: "Forgive us our debts"' (*UD* 2, C6; Parsons 5, p. 281).³⁷ But the same Ep. 265 refers to public penance for serious sin:

Men do penance before baptism for their former sins so that they may be baptized. . . . Men also do penance in order to be forgiven, if after baptism they have sinned so grievously as to deserve excommunication, and in this manner those who are properly called penitents do it in all the Churches. (Not in *UD*; Parsons 5, p. 280; omission mine)³⁸

This is just one example of *Unio*'s selective quotation.

In the third subdivision, we deal with the honoring of saints, an issue described vividly by Eamon Duffy in his magisterial study *The Stripping of the Altars*.³⁹ Besides the customs of the early Church, this topic raises other questions: Are the saints in heaven conscious of our needs on earth? What happens after death to those who are outstanding neither for virtue nor vice?

Tyndale is willing to acknowledge that the Fathers of the Church may have honored saints, but as an honest error. Responding to More, Tyndale explains:

He allegeth that S. Hierom and Augustine prayed to sayntes /
 . . . A good man might erre in many thynges and not be damned
 / so that his erroure were not directly agenst the promises that
 are in christes bloude / nether that he held them maliciously . . .
 but master More shuld haue alleged the places where they
 prayed vn to sayntes. (*Answer*, K6; PS III, 126–27)

We find one such place in an early treatise, *On True Religion* (AD 390), wherein Augustine counsels a moderate devotion to the saints, 'They want us to worship him, in whose light they rejoice to have us as sharers in their merit. They are to be honoured and not adored with religious rites' (*UD* 2, N8^v; *LCC* 6, p. 280).⁴⁰ The Parker Society editor of *Answer to More* further cites *On the Care to Be Had for the Dead* (AD 421) (PS III, 127, n. 2), 'That upon recollection of the place in which are deposited the bodies of those whom they love, they should by prayer commend them to those same Saints, who have as patrons taken them into their charge to aid them before the Lord' (not in *UD*; *INPNE*, 3, p. 542).⁴¹ In the first citation, Augustine describes prayers of praise offered to saints; in the second, prayers of intercession for the dead. Augustine's *Enchiridion* gives an argument for the possible existence of Purgatory:

Nor can it be denied that the souls of the dead are benefited by the piety of their living friends, who offer the sacrifice of the Mediator, or give alms in the church on their behalf. . . . For there is a manner of life which is neither so good as not to require these services after death, nor so bad that such services are of no avail after death. (Not in *UD*; *INPNE*, 3, p. 272; omission mine)⁴²

Tyndale believes that a third state between heaven and hell probably does not exist, but he will trust God to care for his soul after death: '[Tyndale] entendeth to purge here vn to the vttermost of his power and hopeth that deeth wyll ende and fynish his purgacion. And if there be any other purgyng / he wyll committe it to god and take it as he findeth it' (*Answer*, R5; PS III, 214).

In documenting so amply the devotion of late medieval English Catholics, Eamon Duffy has demonstrated that their piety was intense but not judicious. As a pastoral bishop, Augustine was much concerned that the laity understand the meaning of religious ritual, especially the major sacraments of baptism and Eucharist. He writes in Book 3 of *Christian Doctrine* (AD 396):

And as soon as any one looks upon these observances he knows to what they refer, and so reueres them not in carnal bondage,

but in spiritual freedom. Now, as to follow the letter, and to take signs for the things that are signified by them, is a mark of weakness and bondage; so to interpret them wrongly is the result of being misled by error. (*UD* 1, S2; *INPNF*, 2, p. 560)⁴³

Through his indefatigable preaching, Augustine strove to give his people an enlightened piety. In an era when many English bishops were secular administrators, Tyndale justly complains, 'And I praye you how is it possible that the people can worshepe images / reliques / ceremonies and sacramentes / saue supersticiously / so longe as they know not the true meaninge' (*Answer*, E5; PS III, 62).

Against the proliferation of popular devotions, Tyndale appeals to the authority of the bishop of Hippo, 'S. Augustine complayneth in his dayes / how that the condicion & state of the Iewes was moare easy then the christens vnder tradicions' (*Answer*, F5^v; PS III, p. 74). A long quotation from a letter-treatise, Ep. 55, *To the Inquiries of Januarius* (AD 400), appears both in *Unio* and, as Henry Walter notes (PS III, 74, n. 2), in Erasmus's Annotation on Matthew 11:31. Augustine firmly decides to uproot these spiritual weeds from the wheatfields of the Church:

Even if it cannot be proved that they are contrary to faith, they still weigh down with sterile burdens a religion which the mercy of God wished to be free, with only a very few and very well-chosen sacramental obligations. By comparison they make the status of the Jews more bearable, who, though they did not know the time of liberty, were subject to the obligations of the Law, not those of human contrivance. The Church of God, established in the midst of much chaff and much cockle, tolerates many things, yet those that are contrary to faith and good living it neither approves, nor accepts in silence, nor practices. (*UD* 1, T5^v; Parsons, 1, pp. 290–91)⁴⁴

Although Tyndale affirmed the principle of *Sola Scriptura*, he appealed to the Fathers of the Church, particularly when debating Roman Catholics: Fisher in *Obedience* and More in *Answer*.⁴⁵ He might have read firsthand some of the many editions of the Fathers, for example, Amerbach's Augustine published in 1506 or Erasmus's

ten-volume Augustine published by Froben in 1527–1529.⁴⁶ But in *Answer to More*, Tyndale twice mentions *Unio Dissidentium* by name and approves its contents. *Unio* does not quote Augustine on the authority of the Church in relation to Scripture, the use of physical force against heretics, the confession of serious sin to church officials, and belief in Purgatory. But Tyndale would have found *Unio* useful for quoting Augustine on the primacy of Scripture, the gratuity of salvation, a spiritual eating of the Eucharist, a restrained honor given to saints, and a judicious use of devotional practices. Since there are many correspondences between *Unio*'s selections from Augustine and passages from *Answer to More*, it is highly probable that Tyndale read this handy survey of the Fathers and was influenced by it. Although not totally representative of Augustine in its selections, *Unio Dissidentium* gives a sweeping introduction to this greatest Father of the Western Church.

Short Titles

1 NPNF. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. First series. 14 vols. Ed. Philip Schaff. 1886–1890; Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, 1956.

CCL. *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*. In progress. Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, Turnholt, 1954 +.

Parsons. *St. Augustine: Letters*. Vols 1–5. Tr. Wilfred Parsons SND. Fathers of the Church, vols 12, 18, 20, 30, 32. Fathers of the Church, New York, 1951–1956.

PL. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus: Series Latina*. Ed. J. P. Migne. 221 vols. 1844–1865; Typographi Brepols Editore Pontificii, Turnholt, 1979.

Notes

1. For their criticisms, I am grateful to Robert B. Eno SS on Augustine, Germain Marc'hadour on More. For his deep and wide knowledge of *Unio Dissidentio*, I am indebted to Robert Peters.

2. Tyndale names *Unio Dissidentium* a second time, 'Whi damned they the vnion of doctoures / but be cause the doctours are agenst them' (*Answer*, R4^v; PS III, 213).

References to *Answer to More* are based on the first edition (Simon Cock, Antwerp, 1531), the copytext for the critical edition, ed. Anne M. O'Donnell SND and Jared Wicks SJ (Catholic University Press, Washington, D.C., forthcoming) and on Parker Society III, ed. Henry Walter (1850; reprint, Johnson Reprint Company, London, 1968).

3. For Tunstal's decree, see Foxe, 4, pp. 666–67. *Unio* appears in two other documents reproduced by Foxe. Thomas Garret, 'curate of Honey-lane in London', sold copies of Tyndale's New Testament and *Unio Dissidentium* to Oxford scholars c. 1526 (Foxe, 5, p. 421). In 1538, John Lambert cited the handbook and its contents while under interrogation for heresy (Foxe, 5, pp. 184–225). *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, 8 vols, ed. S. R. Cattley and Josiah Pratt (1843–1849; AMS Press, New York, 1965).

4. The Pseudo-Augustine *De Essentia Divinitatis* first appeared in a 1531 edition of *Unio*. Since the Folger copy of *Unio* contains this short tract, its date of 1527 cannot be correct. *Unio* was first published in Antwerp by Marten de Keyser, not in Cologne as stated on the title pages and colophons of both parts of *UD*. For an English translation of *De Essentia Divinitatis*, see RSTC 919 (W. Hill, London, 1548). Cf. Robert Peters, 'Who Compiled the Sixteenth-Century Patristic Handbook *Unio Dissidentium*?' in *Studies in Church History*, ed. G. J. Cuming, 2 (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965), pp. 237–50, especially 237.

For other editions of *Unio*, see J. M. De Bujanda *et al.*, *Index de l'Université de Paris: 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556*, *Index des Livres Interdits*, 1 (Editions de l'Université de Sherbrooke, Sherbrooke, Québec, 1994), pp. 145–46.

5. Peters weighed the evidence for Bucer and Oecolampædus in his 1965 article but favored the latter in his 1996 paper at the Second Oxford Tyndale Conference (see Peters's article in this volume of *Reformation*).

6. *Call of All Nations*, which *Unio* attributes to Ambrose, is now recognised as Prosper's. Tyndale never names the following theologians found in *Unio*: Clement of Rome, Tertullian, Athanasius, Hilary, Cyril of Alexandria, Lactantius, Fulgentius, Theophylactus, and Bernard, as well as the Greek Church historians Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomenus, and Theodoret, whom *Unio* includes under the heading *Tripartite History*. Altogether these non-Tyndalian authors comprise 13 percent of *Unio Dissidentium*.

7. Complete Works of St. Thomas More, in progress (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1963 +); hereafter referred to as *CWM*.

8. 'Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas' (*Contra Epistolam Manichæi quam vocant Fundamenti*, PL 42, 476). In interpreting Scripture, Augustine relied on the teachings of churches founded by the Apostles and on regional and ecumenical councils. Cf. Robert B. Eno SS, 'Authority' in *An Augustine Encyclopedia: Saint*

Augustine through the Ages, ed. Allan Fitzgerald OSA (Garland, New York, forthcoming).

9. Heiko A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism*, 3rd ed. (Labyrinth Press, Durham, NC, 1983), p. 201.

10. 'Ac [*UD* has the synonymn 'At'] si aliquid in eis offendero Litteris, quod videatur contrarium veritati; nihil aliud, quam vel [*UD* lacks 'vel'] mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi vel per illos auctores canonicos, uel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt' (Ep. 82, ch. 1, par. 3; *PL* 33, 277). More also refers to Ep. 82 in 'Letter to a Monk' (1520), *CWM* 15, 216/10–13. Since this paper accepts the modern numbering of Augustine's letters, it also follows the spelling, punctuation and word order of *PL* and *CCL*.

11. 'Modus autem ipse dicendi, quo sancta Scriptura contextitur, quam [*UD* has 'quamuis' or 'however much'] omnibus accessibilis, quamvis [*UD* has 'tamen' or 'however'] paucissimis penetrabilis! . . . Sed invitat omnes humili sermone, quos non solum manifesta pascat, sed etiam secreta exerceat veritate, hoc in promptis, quod in reconditis habens' (Ep. 137, ch. 5, par. 18; *PL* 33, 524).

12. 'De canonicis auctoritatibus, a quibus non debemus averti, minus fortasse videbor præsumpsisse quam debui' (*De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia*, bk 2, ch. 29, par. 51; *PL* 44, 466).

13. 'Noli meis litteris quasi scripturis [*UD* erroneously has 'scriptis'] canonicis inservire' (*De Trinitate*, Prologue to Bk 3, par. 2; *CCL* 50, 128/38–39).

See also, Ep. 148, to Fortunatian, bishop of Sicca (AD 413), 'We are not obliged to regard the arguments of any writers, however Catholic and estimable they may be, as we do the canonical Scriptures . . . [we may] refute or reject anything we happen to find in their writings wherein their opinions differ from the established truth. . . . I wish other thinkers to hold the same attitude toward my writings as I hold towards theirs' (*UD* I, X2; Parsons, 3, p. 235, omissions mine).

'Neque enim [*UD* lacks 'enim'] quorumlibet disputationes, quamvis ['however much'; *UD* has 'quamquam' or 'nevertheless'] catholicorum et laudatorum hominum, velut Scripturas canonicas habere debemus, ut nobis non liceat . . . aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare atque respuere, si forte invenerimus quod aliter senserint, quam veritas habet. . . . Talis ego sum in scriptis aliorum, tales [*UD* has the synonym 'quales' or 'as'] volo esse intellectores meorum' (Ep. 148, ch. 4, par. 15; *PL* 33, 628–29).

14. Cf. the discussion on the Apostles' Creed between the Erasmian Aulus and the Lutheran Barbatius, where the former concludes, 'Since you agree with us in so many and so difficult questions, what hinders you from being wholly on our side?' 'An Examination Concerning Faith', in *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, tr. Craig R. Thompson (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1965), p. 176.

15. Tyndale translates *hairesis* as 'sect' in Acts 5:17, 15:5, 24:5, 26:5; he translates the plural as 'sects' in 1 Corinthians 11:19, Galatians 5:20, 2 Peter 2:1. *Tyndale's New Testament*, ed. David Daniell (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1992).

16. '*Hairesis* autem Græce, ab electione dicitur: quod scilicet eam sibi unusquisque eligat disciplinam, quam putat esse meliorem' (*Commentariorum in Epistolam ad Galatas*, bk 3, ch. 5, par. 507–08; *PL* 26, 417). *The De Haresibus of Saint Augustine*, tr. Liguori G. Mueller OFM (Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., 1956).

17. 'Omnes certe qui exeunt de Ecclesia, et ab unitate Ecclesiæ præciduntur, antichristi sunt' (*In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*, Tractate 3, ch. 2, par. 7; *PL* 35, 2000–01).

18. 'Quisquis factis negat Christum, antichristus est. Non audio quid sonet, sed video quid vivat. Opera loquuntur, et verba requirimus?' (*In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*, Tractate 3, ch. 2, par. 8; *PL* 35, 2002).

19. 'Nos interim si quando vestros tenemus, cum magna dilectione servamus illæsos, loquimur illis, et legimus omnia, quibus error ipse vincitur, qui fratres a fratribus separat. . . . Si autem . . . unitati Christi consentire noluerint [*UD* has the indicative 'noluerunt'], sicut illæsi retenti sunt, sic a nobis dimittuntur illæsi: hoc quantum possumus monemus etiam laicos nostros, ut eos illæsos teneant, et nobis corripiendos instruendosque perducant' (Ep. 88, par. 9; *PL* 33, 307).

20. 'Multis enim profuit (quod experimentis probavimus et probamus) prius timore vel dolore cogi, ut postea possent doceri, aut quod jam verbis didicerant, opere sectari' (Ep. 185, ch. 6, par. 21; *PL* 33, 802).

21. 'However, the death penalty was not to be invoked, because Christian moderation was to be observed even towards those unworthy of it, but fines were to be imposed and exile was decreed against their bishops and ministers' (not in *UD*; Parsons, 4, p. 168).

'Non tamen supplicio capitali, propter servandam etiam circa indignos mansuetudinem christianam, sed pecuniariis damnis propositis, et in episcopos vel ministros eorum exilio constituo' (Ep. 185, ch. 7, par. 26; *PL* 33, 805).

22. 'Quapropter non sunt sibi contrariæ duorum apostolorum sententiæ Pauli et Iacobi, cum dicit unus *iustificari hominem per fidem sine operibus* [Romans 3:28], et alius dicit inanem esse fidem sine operibus [cf. James 2:20], quia ille dicit de operibus quæ fidem præcedunt, iste de his quæ fidem

sequuntur' (CCL 44A, 221/79–84). *Eighty-Three Different Questions*, tr. David L. Mosher, Fathers of the Church 70 (Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C., 1977).

23. 'As it says in Psalm 36:2: "For in his sight he has done deceitfully that his iniquity may be found unto hatred", that is, before God [*coram Deo*] and inside his spirit there was deceit and not the truth of righteousness, even when he shows his righteousness publicly [*coram hominibus*]' *Luther: Lectures on Romans*, The Library of Christian Classics, tr. Wilhelm Pauck (Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1961), p. 143.

'Sicut psalmos 35.: "Quoniam dolose ægit in conspectu eius, Vt Inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium' i.e. coram Deo et intus in spiritu eius erat dolus et non veritas Iustitiæ, licet coram hominibus Iustitiam ostendet in opere" (WA 56, 289/23–26). *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, ed. J.K.F. Knaake *et al.*, 93 vols (Hermann Bohlaus Nachfolger, Weimar, 1883–1978).

For a full list of references to *coram Deo* and *coram hominibus*, cf. Gordon Rupp, *The Righteousness of God: Luther Studies* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1953), p. 161, n. 2.

24. 'Gratia præcessit meritum tuum: non gratia ex merito, sed meritum ex gratia' (Sermon 169; *PL* 38, 916–17).

In a late work, *On the Predestination of the Saints* (AD 429), Augustine asserts that the righteous Gentile Cornelius the Centurion did not earn his conversion, 'Whatever, therefore, of good works Cornelius performed, as well before he believed in Christ as when he believed and after he had believed, are all to be ascribed to God, lest, perchance any man be lifted up' (*UD* 1, K⁴^v; *INPNF*, 5, p. 504).

'Quidquid igitur et antequam in Christum crederet, et cum crederet, et cum credidisset, bene operatus est Cornelius, totum Deo dandum est, ne forte quis extollatur' (*De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, ch. 7, par. 12; *PL* 44, 970).

25. 'In eo quoque [*UD* lacks 'quoque'] etiam poenitentiae meritum gratia præcedat, quod neminem peccati sui poeniteret, nisi admonitione aliqua vocationis Dei' (*Epistola ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio*, par. 9; *PL* 35, 2094). *Augustine on Romans: Propositions from the Epistle to the Romans, Unfinished Commentary on the Epistles to the Romans*, tr. Paula Fredriksen Landes, Early Christian Literature Series 6 (Scholars Press, Chico, CA, 1982).

26. 'Verumtamen quia et ipsa vita æterna quam certum est bonis operibus debitam reddi, a tanto Apostolo gratia Dei dicitur [*Romans* 6:23], cum gratia non operibus reddatur, sed gratis detur; sine ulla dubitatione confitendum est, ideo gratiam vitam æternam vocari, quia his meritis redditur, quæ gratia contulit homini' (*De Correptione et Gratia*, ch. 13, par. 41; *PL* 44, 942).

27. 'Satis, quantum existimo, manifestatur, operari Deum in cordibus hominum ad inclinandas eorum voluntates quocumque voluerit, sive ad bona

pro sua misericordia, sive ad mala pro meritis eorum' (*De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, ch. 21, par. 43; *PL* 44, 909).

28. 'Sed adhuc quærendum erat, . . . utrum ista misericordia ideo tantummodo fiat in homine, quia fidelis est, an etiam facta fuerit, ut fidelis esset' (*Retractiones*, ch. 23, par. 4; *CCL* 57, 70/93–96).

29. 'Ut acciperet homo præcepta, superbe de suis viribus fidens, in quibus deficiens et factus etiam prævaricator, liberatorem salvatoremque requireret' (*De Perfectione Justitiæ Hominis*, ch. 19, par. 42; *PL* 44, 315).

30. 'Sed ideo jubet aliqua quæ non possumus, ut noverimus quid ab illo petere debeamus' (*De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, ch. 16, par. 32; *PL* 44, 900).

31. 'poenæ formidine, non dilectione et delectatione justitiæ' (*Contra Duas Epistolas Pelagianorum*, bk 1, ch. 9, par. 15; *PL* 44, 558).

32. 'Ipsa est uera libertas propter recte facti lætitiām' (*Enchiridion*, ch. 9, par. 30; *CCL* 46, 66/49–50).

33. 'Vtquid paras dentes et uentrem? Crede, et manducasti' (*In Evangelium Iohannis*, Tractate 25, par. 12; *CCL* 36, 254/8–9).

34. 'Certe uel tunc uidebitis quid [*UD* incorrectly has 'quia' or 'because'] non eo modo quo putatis, erogat corpus suum; certe uel [*UD* lacks 'uel'] tunc intellegitis [*UD* incorrectly has 'intelligetis'] quia gratia eius non consumitur morsibus' (*In Evangelium Iohannis*, Tractate 27, par. 3; *CCL* 36, 271/13–15).

35. Henry Walter refers to Jerome's statements on penance in the early Church: Ep. to Oceanus on Fabiola, and Erasmus's comment in his 'Life of Jerome', PS III, 213–14, n. 8.

36. 'Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos?' (*Confessiones*, bk 10, par. 3; *CCL* 27, 156/1–2).

37. 'Est enim poenitentia bonorum et humilium fidelium pene [*PL* has 'p[a]ene' or 'almost'; *UD* has 'poena' or 'punishment'] quotidiana, in qua pectora tundimus dicentes: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*' [Matthew 6:12], (Ep. 265, par. 8; *PL* 33, 1089).

38. 'Agunt enim homines ante Baptismum poenitentiam de suis prioribus peccatis, ita tamen ut etiam baptizentur. . . . Agunt etiam homines poenitentiam, si post Baptismum ita peccaverint, ut excommunicari et postea reconciliari mereantur: sicut in omnibus Ecclesiis illi qui proprie poenitentes appellantur' (Ep. 265, par. 7; *PL* 33, 1088).

39. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992). See Part I, Section 5, 'The Saints', 155–205; Section 10, 'The Pains of Purgatory', pp. 338–78.

40. 'Sed illum a nobis coli uolunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes [*UD* less plausibly has 'conseruos' or 'fellow slaves'].

Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem' (*De Vera Religione*, bk 1, ch. 55, par. 108; *CCL* 32, 256/25–28).

41. 'Dum recolunt ubi sint posita eorum quos diligunt corpora, eisdem sanctis illos tanquam patronis susceptos apud Dominum adjuvandos orando commendent' (*De Cura pro Mortuis*, par. 6; *PL* 40, 596).

42. 'Neque negandum est defunctorum animas pietate suorum uiuentium releuari, cum pro illis sacrificium mediatoris offertur uel eleemosynæ in ecclesia fiunt. . . . Est enim quidam uiuendi modus, nec tam bonus ut non requirat ista post mortem, nec tam malus ut ei non prosint ista post mortem' (*Enchiridion*, ch. 29, par. 10; *CCL* 46, 108/5–7, 8–11).

For the patristic tradition on Purgatory up to and including Augustine, see Robert B. Eno SS, 'The Fathers and the Cleansing Fire', *Theological Quarterly* 53.3 (1987), pp. 184–202. In *Confutation against Tyndale* (*CWM* 8/1, 372/33–374/10), More translates Augustine's prayer for the venial sins of his deceased mother Monica (*Confessions*, bk 9, ch. 13, par. 35–37; *PL* 32, 778–80).

43. 'Quæ unusquisque cum percipit, quo referantur [*UD* incorrectly has the singular 'referatur'] imbutus agnoscit, ut ea non carnali servitute, sed spirituali potius libertate veneretur. Ut autem litteram sequi, et signa pro rebus quæ iis [*UD* has the synonym 'his' or 'by these'] significantur accipere, servilis infirmitatis est; ita inutiliter signa interpretari, male vagantis erroris est' (*De Doctrina Christiana*, bk 3, ch. 9; *PL* 34, 71).

44. 'Quamvis enim neque hoc inveniri [*UD* incorrectly has the active 'inuenire'] possit, quomodo contra fidem sint; ipsam tamen religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus oneribus premunt, ut tolerabilior sit conditio Iudæorum, qui etiamsi tempus libertatis non agnoverunt [*UD* has the subjunctive 'agnouerint'], legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis præsumptionibus subjiuntur. Sed Ecclesia Dei inter [*UD* has the less preferable 'intra' or 'within'] multam paleam multaque zizania constituta, multa tolerat, et tamen quæ sunt contra fidem vel bonam vitam non approbat, nec tacet [*UD* incorrectly has the perfect 'tacit' to rhyme with the present 'facit'], nec facit' (*Ep.* 55, ch. 19, par. 35; *PL* 33, 221–22).

45. This tally of Tyndale's references to the Fathers is based on the forthcoming edition of *Answer to More* and the Parker Society General Index: Augustine (19), Jerome (17), Cyprian (9), Bede (4), Origen (4), Gregory (3), Chrysostom (2), Pseudo-Dionysius (2), Ambrose (1), Prosper of Aquitaine (1).

46. John C. Olin, 'Erasmus and the Church Fathers' in *Six Essays on Erasmus* (Fordham University Press, New York, 1979), pp. 38–39.

Tyndale, More, and the Anatomy of Heresy

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On the eve of the third Christian millennium, the very idea of heresy is a problematic one. The word itself is not often used nowadays, except in nontheological senses: in the same way that the word *doctrine* has become applied to economic, scientific, or military thinking, so *heresy* is applied to nonconformists in those areas. In this ecumenical age, Christians no longer condemn their separated brethren as heretics: those who do speak of theological heresy and mean it are more likely to belong to a fundamentalist frame of mind, beyond the pale of polite conversation. And when historians investigate the Church's past, they do not expect to find real heretics (any more than they expect to find real witches) so much as the constructions of overenthusiastic inquisitors, or—at most—sympathetic rebels.¹ If the word still has the power to send a shiver down the spine, it is because we are horrified by the methods of the inquisition and by the *auto-da-fé*, not (as our predecessors would have been) because we are appalled by the unspeakable consequences of false doctrine.

For Church historians, what we might call the death of heresy has been of immense benefit. Two examples of this benefit spring to mind immediately. The first is the famous thesis of Walter Bauer, who in 1934 proposed a new understanding of early Christian thought.² Rather than regarding orthodoxy as something which emerged fully formed in the Apostolic Age and which was then challenged by the heresies subintroduced by Gnostics, Marcionites, Ebionites, and so on, Bauer portrayed early Christianity as reflecting an extremely diverse range of views. Out of this mixture emerged what was later known as orthodoxy. Not everything Bauer wrote was accepted at the time or has stood the test of sixty years. But his thesis in broad terms, that (as it were) orthodoxy emerged from 'heresy', not heresy from orthodoxy, remains a helpful conceptual tool for students of the early Church.

My second example concerns the greatest heresy of all, indeed the 'archetypal' heresy, as Maurice Wiles calls it in a recent book.³ Generations of Christians have been brought up to think of Arius and his followers as the greatest enemies of Christianity, and of Arianism (which dominated Eastern Christendom for sixty years and was the official faith of the whole Church for twenty) as a system of belief at once illogical and unspiritual. But there was always a problem with this. If Arianism were so nonsensical, why was it so popular? It is only relatively recently that scholars have looked again at Arianism and found there a doctrine of salvation which makes much more sense than Nicene orthodoxy, at least in the context of an Eastern Church which saw salvation in terms of deification. The riddle of Arianism's popularity is solved. The riddle that remains is why it died out, if indeed Arianism in the broadest sense ever did die out completely.

The death of heresy as a legitimate historiographical tool has therefore undoubtedly transformed our understanding of Church history for the better. But there is the opposite danger, that by regarding the concept of heresy as an illegitimate one for us to use, we become dismissive of, or at least insensitive to, the concept of heresy as it appears in historical sources. This is unfortunate, because the idea of heresy is a key to unlocking an important part of the mentality of an age. A good deal of time has been spent over the centuries on such questions as: How does one define heresy? What leads someone to become a heretic? How can heretics be distinguished from Christians? How should heretics be treated? The questions, and the answers given, may not tell us much about the 'anatomy of heresy'⁴ in any age, but they tell us a great deal about the people who did the anatomizing.

I.

The case of William Tyndale provides an excellent vantage point from which to investigate the mentality of the early sixteenth century in this respect. He was of course eventually executed for heresy, under the provisions of the Diet of Augsburg, and even before that he was subjected to the attentions of three men (Thomas More, Johannes Cochlaeus, and Jacobus Latomus) who were not only experienced rooters-out of heretical pravity, but who also reflected carefully on the nature of heresy itself.

The greatest of these three (or at any rate the most well known) is Sir Thomas More, a keen amateur inquisitor who was notorious for taking his work home with him. His *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* against Tyndale, with its lack of traditional structure and its frequent diversions for merry tales, does not look like a scholastic *summa de haesibus*. But in the course of it, and of the later *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, More asks and answers many of the questions which exercised the summarists. Because he is so well known, I want to focus my study on him. But, it could well be objected, what does he know of the Lord Chancellor of England, who only the Lord Chancellor of England knows? In this article I shall therefore compare his opinions with those of the most important and influential writers on heresy of the day. The earliest was the Dominican Bernard of Luxembourg, whose *Catalogus haereticorum* was first published in Cologne in 1522 and eventually went through seven editions in the 1520s and 30s.⁵ Next was a rather less successful work by another Dominican (the only order generally charged with the detection of heresy), Konrad Koch, known as Wimpina. His four-hundred folio *Sectarum, errorum, hallucinationum, & schismatum Anacephalæoseos* was published in 1528 but never reprinted.⁶ The third was Guy of Perpignan, whose *Summa de haesibus*, a thirteenth-century tract, was resurrected at the height of the Reformation and published in Paris in 1528.⁷ And finally the most famous of all was the Franciscan Alfonso de Castro, whose monumental work *Adversus omnes haereses libri XIV* was first published in Paris in 1534 but went through twenty-four further editions by the middle third of the century.⁸

In addition to these four writers on heresy, two more spring to mind as being relevant to Tyndale. One is Bavarian jurist Konrad Braun, or Brunus, author of the treatise *De haeticis*. This was published twice (the first time in an abridgement) by Johannes Cochlaeus.⁹ Cochlaeus was the most prolific of the many Catholic writers against the Reformation, and it was thanks to a tip-off from Cochlaeus that the publication of Tyndale's Bible was rapidly brought to an end in Cologne.¹⁰ The other is Jacobus Latomus, professor of theology at the University of Louvain, whose relationship to Tyndale has recently been elucidated by Robert Wilkinson.¹¹ Before engaging with Tyndale, Latomus wrote against Martin Luther and earned from the German not only the fullest

exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith alone that he ever wrote, but also the more direct compliment that Latomus was the ablest of all his opponents.¹² Latomus never counterattacked against Luther directly, but in the mid-1520s composed a number of treatises on basic controversial themes. One, ostensibly *De ecclesia*, was in fact concerned with those who put themselves outside the Church. It is therefore a treatise on heresy in all but name.¹³

Between them, Tyndale's direct opponents represent a broad spectrum of Catholic learning during the first years of the Reformation: More, Cochlaeus, and Latomus are drawn, respectively, from the laity, the secular clergy, and professional theology; humanism, scholastic-humanism, and scholasticism; England, Germany, and the Low Countries. From such a broad perspective we can deduce much about the significance of the charge of heresy in the first half of the sixteenth century.

II.

Let us start, as the *Summa de haeresibus* start, with the definition of *heresy*. Medieval treatments of *heresy* were dominated by two patristic definitions. Augustine had defined a heretic as one who 'for the sake of worldly gain, and especially for glory and domination, either creates or follows false and new opinions'.¹⁴ Jerome's alternative definition had the advantage of greater precision:

'Heresy' comes from the Greek word meaning choice, and refers to the choosing of whatever discipline one thinks better. Whoever therefore understands Scripture in any other sense than that demanded by the Holy Spirit, by whom it was written, even though he has not left the Church, may nevertheless be called a heretic, because he has chosen that which is worse, namely the works of the flesh.¹⁵

Between them, these two definitions represent the poles of heresy. For Jerome, heresy is essentially an intellectual crime, and one firmly related to the interpretation of Scripture. For Augustine, heresy is essentially a moral crime, arising from inordinate love of self: elsewhere, he attributes heresy to pride.¹⁶ This bipolar understanding of heresy

as a corruption as much of the affections as of the intellect continued throughout the Middle Ages and is a notable feature of the writings of Aquinas and Gerson. It meant that heresy was never to be understood as simple error, but, as Augustine frequently repeated, error joined with the moral failing of obstinacy.¹⁷ Christians might make a doctrinal *faux pas* through ignorance, by accident, or in jest. But provided they are willing to be corrected, they are not heretics.

By the sixteenth century, the bipolar understanding of heresy had been abandoned. Augustine's moral definition reigned supreme, while Jerome's definition was retained only for its etymological value. (Jerome's definition had clearly fallen so far from favour that, according to Brunus, few were by his day any longer aware of the correct derivation of *haeresis*.¹⁸) The reasons for this Augustinian shift are not hard to fathom. By locating heresy in the sin of pride, or inordinate self-love, the virtue of obedience to the authority of the Church is magnified. The real test of heresy is no longer whether one has erred, but whether one is obedient. Latomus expresses precisely this point when he concludes that it is more dangerous to the health of one's soul to understand Scripture correctly, but in a way not countenanced by the Church, than it is to misunderstand Scripture (because of an imperfect text, or linguistic ignorance, or stupidity), but to follow the Church.¹⁹ This is an interesting example of ecclesiastical fundamentalism in the face of the challenge from humanist biblical criticism, and we recall that Latomus was a literary enemy not only of Luther and Tyndale, but also of Erasmus.

Our summarists agree that it is better to be a stupid Catholic than a clever heretic. But there are cases in which a heretic will say or write things which are not only true but orthodox, and indeed edifying. What happens in these cases? Are Christians not permitted to hear a heretic's sound teachings, provided that they avoid the unsound? No, because when heretics speak the truth they speak it heretically and either do not mean it in the same way as Christians or are deliberately disguising the poison of their error with the honey of truth.²⁰ A related objection is one that might appeal to us today, and of which the summarists were certainly aware: surely a heretic is not so much one who denies Christian truths, as one who emphasises one truth at the expense of others? So Marcion meant to protect the goodness of

God by rejecting the Old Testament, Arius meant to defend the unique honour due to God the Father, and Pelagius the glory and power of God's creatures. Latomus is certain that this is also only a trick. The ultimate aim of all heretics is the complete overthrow of the faith, and to achieve this each attacks one specific doctrine on the pretext of defending some other.²¹

The summarists were never prepared to give heretics the benefit of the doubt when it came to questions of motive. Because the heretic's failing was moral depravation before it was intellectual deprivation, the intentions of the heretic were always dishonourable, and having once succumbed to pride, he was unlikely to draw the line at any other deadly sin, or indeed any other error. As with an iceberg, nine-tenths of a heretic's character lay below the surface. The two key words summarists most often used of heresy, *pravitas* and *malitia*, convey the sense of far-advanced evil which heresy carried. For Alfonso de Castro, malice is what separates heretics from erring Catholics and what blinds their eyes so that they are unable to see reason.²² But the writer most sensitive to the nuances of heretical malice was More himself, for whom it achieved the status of a nice, knockdown argument.²³ It is the word More uses of Luther:

[F]or envy and hatred that he bare to priesthood, by the malice of his ungracious mind, he rather were content that all the world lay in the fire of purgatory till Domesday, than that there were one penny given to a priest to pray for any soul.²⁴

It is the word he uses of Richard Hunne:

I would well think that in malice and despair he hanged himself.²⁵

And it is the word he uses of Tyndale, particularly in relation to what he sees as the wilful distortion of Scripture:

Now knoweth [Barnes] well that the false malicious manner that Tyndale hath used in the translating thereof . . . was done to set forth his false heresies withal.²⁶

In general, More believed that malice prompted heretics to speak against images ('not for any furtherance of devotion, but plainly for a malicious mind, to minish and quench men's devotions'²⁷) and against the invocation of saints.²⁸ In fact, as More claims in a famous passage, his entire purpose in writing against Tyndale was

to the intent that ye may the more clearly perceive the malicious mind of these men, and that their pestilent books be both odious to God and deadly contagious to men, and so much the more perilous in that their false heresies wilily walk forth under the counterfeit usage of the true Christian faith. This is the cause and purpose of my present labour, whereby (God willing) I shall so pull off their gay painted visors, that every man listing to look thereon, shall plainly perceive and behold the bare ugly gargoyle faces of their abominable heresy.²⁹

More's repeated appeal to the malice of heretics may, incidentally, be the reason why John Foxe, in the biographical memoir he attached to Tyndale's works, stresses Tyndale's charitable deeds, and especially that 'he was a man without any spot or blemish of rancour, or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any kind of sin or crime'.³⁰ Foxe himself was aware that this testimonial brings him uncomfortably close to hagiography and immediately adds, 'although his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God, but only upon the blood of Christ and his faith upon the same'. In spite of the dangers, Foxe clearly felt it important to include the testimonial that Tyndale was a man without malice, and I think that the most compelling explanation is that Foxe was aware of the equation of malice with heresy and that this character reference was an attempt to purge Tyndale of the accusation of heresy: even if More had not written, the equation would have been familiar enough to Foxe from the statute *De haeretico comburendo*.³¹

The malice of heretics is often not apparent until it is too late. According to the summarists, heresy always leads to schism, sedition, and violence. Brunus attributed this to the very nature of heresy: those who have already committed *lèse majesté* against God think nothing of

treason against earthly kings, princes, and governors; and to murderers of souls, the mere murder of bodies must mean little.³² Luther's heresy was particularly seditious, because his belief in the priesthood of all believers and his denial of the divine institution of the Papacy took away 'the order and connexions of the limbs of Christ's body, and the order of superiority and inferiority in his Church' (so Latomus).³³ Such a doctrine was, as Brunus was at pains to show, as damaging to civil commonwealths as it was to the Christian commonwealth.³⁴ Brunus devoted the whole of his second book to cataloguing 'the acts of evil, ungodliness, sacrilege, and brutality which arise from heresy'; and in a particularly bloodthirsty chapter related 'the brutal actions of heretics which, under the pretext of justice, both judicially and extra-judicially, they exercise against Catholics by violence, fire, rapine, imprisonment, chains, the mutilation of members, and various other forms of torture and death'.³⁵ Brunus's account is in fact based on nothing more recent than reports of the Donatist wars of the fourth and fifth centuries. But in tone it is very similar to the notorious passage in More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* which describes the atrocities committed by Lutheran troops during the Sack of Rome in 1529.³⁶ Of course, there would have been few if any Lutherans in the combined Imperial-Spanish force which attacked Rome, as More himself seems to have realised later: while not apologising, at least he does not refer to the Sack in his *Confutation*. In any case, More could and did find evidence enough in the Peasants' War to substantiate his case that heresy produces violent sedition.³⁷

We have seen enough to show that heresy was not understood merely as error. Rather, as symptoms of a lack of charity, heresy and schism were spiritual disorders. On many occasions Luther or his followers were described as suffering some physical or mental illness.³⁸ Castro introduces his monumental work with an extended metaphor of the virulent nature of heresy:

Among the many and varied wickednesses which have invaded and destroyed the whole human race, and Christians in particular, heresy is one which is worse than the others, because it is so very pestilential, spreads so widely, penetrates so deeply, adheres so tenaciously, and is therefore so difficult to cure.³⁹

More frequently resorted to the same comparison.⁴⁰ Following the Venerable Bede, both Luxembourg and Brunus portrayed leprosy (a disease which, according to Leviticus 13 and 14, could be treated only by priests) as the most apt analogue for heresy. Here we have an almost literal anatomy—or at least pathology—of heresy.

Those whose heresy affects the skin are those who preach external and carnal heresies, such as the Cherinthians, who believed that the general resurrection would be to the pleasures of the flesh. . . . Those whose leprosy covers the entire body are given over to many different heretical teachings which affect their whole lives. He whose leprosy affects old wounds is one who, after diagnosis and cure, returns to an earlier error, as a dog returns to its vomit. Those suffering leprosy on old burns are Manichees who wear out their bodies by abstinence but in vain, for their lack of faith earns them leprosy and not purification. . . . He who bears leprosy on his head is a blasphemer against the divinity of Christ (who is the Church's head), such as the Arians or Manichees, or of course Jews. Those whose leprosy affects their beards are those who contradict the Apostles and the holy preachers, and impute false teachings to them. As the beard is the adornment of a man, so the Apostles and doctors are the outstanding ornament of the body of Christ. Those who bear leprosy on a bald or balding head are those who, having cast away superfluous and mortal desires, again fall into serious sin and are depraved by perverse doctrine. He who is further afflicted with leprosy of different colours demonstrates various types of heresy. Yellow is for heresies which arise from false brethren, red for the fruitless martyrdom of heretics, white for their pretended righteousness, and green for their pointless fasting.⁴¹

In spite of the variety of symptoms heresy could present, Catholic polemicists believed that all schisms and heresies were essentially manifestations of the same recurring disease in the body of Christ. The disease recurred because it was a trial sent by the Devil; but the true Church could rest assured that the gates of Hell—even the thirteen general persecutions, the twenty-one schisms, and the three

hundred heretics which from time to time had beset it—could never prevail.⁴²

Equating heresy with disease was one way of distancing the heretic from the community of the faithful. Equating them with animals was another. A favourite was the fox, the proverbial exemplification of all the character traits of the heretic: cunning, cowardly, spiteful, destructive—just like the little foxes of the Song of Songs. But also popular, for obvious reasons, were serpents, followed by wolves, dogs, ravens, frogs, mosquitoes, donkeys, locusts, cicadas, scorpions, pigs, lions, dragons, and ‘spiny hedgehogs’.⁴³ Heretics are likened both to cows, because they grow fat by oppressing others (Amos 4:1), and to bulls (Psalm 68:30), because they are hard-necked and seduce cows (who for these purposes represent the most easily led of Christians).⁴⁴ They are also, following a suggestion of Cyprian and Chrysostom, likened to monkeys: ‘as monkeys resemble humans and imitate them in every way, but are not humans, so also heretics confess Christ, have altars, offer sacrifice of bread and wine, baptise, read Holy Scripture, and both have and imitate every order of priesthood, and every mystery of the Church, but they are not the Church’.⁴⁵

More’s contribution was to compare heretics to four-footed beasts: ‘And therefore unto these hogs and these dogs the pith of good living standeth not all in teaching. For no good thing will they learn without biting and beating’.⁴⁶ As this quotation demonstrates, the metaphors of disease and of beastliness, together with the association of heresy with seditious violence, helped to depersonalize and dehumanize heretics as unnatural or contrary to nature, so that their punishment might appear natural and, as we would say, humane. The summarists all defended the Church’s legal right to punish heretics with death and to burn their books. Brunus and Latomus devote nearly half their treatises to demonstrating this point,⁴⁷ and there is an evident desire to ‘let the punishment fit the crime’: Luxembourg and Castro both make the point that, since heretics write books only for the glory of seeing their names in print, it is entirely appropriate to let them see their names go up in smoke;⁴⁸ while in a harsher mood, More maintains that the only way of puncturing that pride which made them heretics in the first place is the death penalty.⁴⁹ As Dr Johnson might have observed, the prospect of facing the executioner in the morning wonderfully deflates the ego.

III.

For all their show of comprehensiveness and of painstakingly documented reference to patristic, scholastic, and Canon Law authorities, these anatomies of heresy should not be seen as dispassionate essays on an abstract problem. They were all published (or in one case republished) in response to the specific crisis of the Reformation. But the Reformation, as a specific event or constellation of events, threw up problems which could not be resolved simply by reference to past records, for all the efforts of the summarists to pretend otherwise. So in the final part of this article I want to look at two areas in which the guidance of the past proved deficient and in which the summarists had to come up with new, and sometimes conflicting, answers: first, the fundamental question of determining what heresy is; and second, the question which particularly exercised the pre-Tridentine writers, of whether anyone can properly be called a heretic whose doctrines have yet to be formally condemned by a council.

As we have seen, every writer on generic heresy began with a definition of heresy. Writers such as Guy de Perpignan and Bernard of Luxembourg then proceeded to list heretics with a note of their beliefs. But as Alfonso de Castro points out in his *Adversus omnes haereses libri XIV*, published on the eve of Tyndale's death, it is no easy thing to define what a heretic is.⁵⁰ The word has become devalued through overuse, so that schismatics, apostates, and even non-Christians are called heretics. Indeed, Castro attacks the shortcomings of his predecessors in the field. He was astonished that Guy, who lived at the time and in the region of the Albigensians, did not mention the flagellant wing of that sect and that he frequently mixed up his heresies. Luxembourg was even worse, counting as heretics people who were not, such as Papias and Gilbert de la Porrée, and sometimes giving no more information than a heretic's name, with a note to the effect that their beliefs are no longer known to us, but whatever they were, the Church had rightly condemned them. No wonder Castro sighs, 'It seems to me (and I mean this without any sense of hatred or insult), that they would have acted more wisely had they expended their labours on exposing heresies rather than merely listing the names of heretics'.⁵¹ This is not simply contempt for ecclesiastical train-spotting: these are inept cataloguers who have missed *The Flying Scotsman* but faithfully

recorded a luggage trolley. Castro's point is that the accusation of heresy is so grave that no one should make it lightly. Yet in his experience, Thomists are ready to call anyone who disagrees with Thomas a heretic.⁵²

When we turn to Thomas More, we find a very much more expansive and expanding definition of heresy. Heresy is for him not so much overstepping the mark as walking in the wrong direction: 'thereby do I plainly know it for an heresy if an heresy be a sect and a side way (taken by any part of such as be baptised, and bear the name of a Christian man) from the common faith and belief of the whole Church besides';⁵³ 'heresies be false belief and factious ways full of business'.⁵⁴ This conception allows for a much looser definition of heresy than Castro or Brunus would have been happy with: 'for the articles wherewith [Bilney] was charged were that we should do no worship to any images, nor pray to any saints, nor go on pilgrimages, *which things I suppose every good Christian man will agree for heresies*'.⁵⁵ This is what we might call the 'man-on-the-Clapham-omnibus' definition of heresy. Even if we discount the tradition of legal interpretation which takes as its criterion the understanding of any reasonable person, we know that the idea of 'consensus' had a controlling role in More's theology and ecclesiology. More was convinced that the marriage of Luther, a friar, with a nun, and the suggestion that Tyndale probably also intended to take a wife, would decide the question of their heresy in the mind of the reasonable, unprejudiced reader, and this explains why 'the frere and hys nonne' appears so frequently throughout the *Confutation*.⁵⁶

For all Christian people be by the same spirit of God brought into a full agreement and consent, that the vow of chastity may not be by his pleasure that made it broken and set at nought.⁵⁷
 . . . And if one were of good zeal offended with him that did exhort him to heresy telling him that it were true faith and doctrine that fornication, advowtry, running out of religion in apostasy, breaking of vows, and friars wedding nuns, and perjury were no sin at all, a man could not fail in any particular part of the known Catholic church to have all this doctrine judged and condemned for heresy.⁵⁸

The fact that in doing so, More consistently confounded questions of faith and order, made heretical such issues as the marriage of monks and priests (which as Brunus implies was debatable),⁵⁹ and made the quite extraordinary claim that there is no worse belief than eating meat on Good Friday⁶⁰ does not seem to have troubled him. More was writing vernacular tracts for the consumption of lay people, and theological niceties were therefore at less of a premium than an appeal to the *sensus communis* of ordinary folk.⁶¹

The second issue was whether heresies not yet condemned by a council could be declared heretical, and again I want to focus on More's response. Augustine had defined a heretic as one who 'creates or follows false and new opinions'. That the opinions should be false is self-evident. But what is meant by their being new? If the truth of God's universe is timeless, so must its falsification be also: this is certainly the import of Augustine's own scheme in the *City of God*, which traced the *civitas terrena* back to the Garden of Eden. Besides, the notion of a 'new heresy' raised the spectre of relativism, of an opinion which is one day orthodox and the next day heterodox: for example, the difficult case of St Cyprian, who taught that the efficacy of the sacraments depended on the worthiness of the ministers. At the time he enunciated this principle, it was the truth. But two centuries later, Donatists who held the same view would be put to death.⁶² So on the one hand the summarists were attracted to Augustine's definition, both because of his authority and because of their widespread belief that whatever is new in religion is wrong. On the other hand, they knew that a great part of their case against the sixteenth-century reformers rested on proving that their heresies were not new, but had been held by past heretics and condemned by past councils. This argument carried particular weight with conciliarists (papalists could simply point to Pope Leo's bull of condemnation against Luther), and Castro, More, and probably Latomus, had conciliarist leanings. Latomus puts the case for all:

There is not one single heresy of Luther that is new and which did not exist before. His heresies are those of the Waldensians, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Wycliffites and Hussites, and of even older sects such as the Jovinians and the like, which have

already been condemned by councils. So there is no necessity for fresh decisions, because the old ones suffice. As Gelasius says in the canons *Achatius* and *Maiores*: 'Achatius was not an inventor of new errors but an imitator'.⁶³

The conflict between these two impulses is nowhere stronger than in More's writings against Tyndale. In one mood, he asserts the case that Luther is not an inventor but an imitator:

These men teach and renew the self-same old rotten heresies, which those holy doctors by their full consent and agreement condemned, both in great assembled councils, and by their own books severally made against them.⁶⁴

But in another mood (his more usual one, it should be said), he can stress the fatal novelty of Luther and his companions, in taking heresy to new depths of depravity 'such as the worst and the most shameless sorts of heretics that ever were of old would have been ashamed to think upon'.⁶⁵ The Yale editors of the *Dialogue* point to the frequency with which the word *heresy* occurs in conjunction with that splendid expression, *newfangliness*.⁶⁶

More's equivocation is not to be accounted for merely by the different rhetorical demands he is making on his material, or even necessarily by yet another inner struggle within the mind of this especially complex man. Rather, it is to be explained by an equivocation in the tradition itself. As a means by which the Devil seeks to undermine the Church, heresy is a unity, a single virus. But precisely because they are inspired by the Father of Lies, heretics disagree among themselves. Various attempts were made to express this unity in diversity. A favourite image was of the many-headed hydra, with the additional idea that as soon as one heretic is vanquished, still more arise.⁶⁷ But even more effective was the image of Samson tying together the tails of three hundred foxes. Samson's already mighty exploit was made superhuman by the Fathers, who imagined that he tied all three hundred foxes together; but it illustrated the belief that heretics are united and yet squabbling. It also invoked the familiar idea of the heretic as fox and suggested that a suitably incendiary fate eventually awaited

them all.⁶⁸ (Incidentally, this passage also suggested that there were exactly three hundred heresies. Luxembourg's *Catalogus* tried to prove it, and this explains the creative accounting to which Castro took such exception.) More differed from other contemporary summarists only in his failure to harmonize more effectively these two ideas of the unity and the diversity of heresy.⁶⁹

It would be a rash person indeed who would claim to have something genuinely new to say about Thomas More. But I think that this comparison of More with his continental contemporaries on the subject of heresy has thrown up one or two interesting results. On the question of the definition of *heresy*, More has shown himself to be well outside the mainstream tradition and would certainly have earned a ruler across the fingers from Castro and Brunus, who were striving to tighten up the definition of a term that was being used far too freely amongst Romanists in the sixteenth century. He would even have been censured by Guy of Perpignan and Bernard of Luxembourg: although they were happy to include apostates, Jews, and Moslems in their catalogues of heresy, at least they did so on the basis of conciliar definitions, and not on the basis of 'what I suppose every good Christian man would agree for heresies'. All the summarists would have sighed at this point, 'What can you expect from a self-taught lay theologian?' But More could console himself that he stood on the side of the jury system and perhaps even—to stretch a point very far—manhood suffrage.⁷⁰

On the question of the antiquity or novelty, and the unity or diversity of heresy, he found it more difficult to escape the equivocation of the tradition. But then it is doubtful that he would want to. Ultimately, it did not matter to More or to the summarists whether heretics agreed or squabbled, whether they told the truth some of the time or lies all the time, whether they were learned or unlearned, whether their lives were moral or immoral. They were still heretics, and the evidence, whatever it was, proved guilt, not innocence. As More himself might have put it, behind all the gay painted visors was the same ugly gargoyle face of heresy.

Notes

1. The classic example of the first approach is Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294–1324* (Scolar Press, London, 1978; 1st French edition, 1975); and of the second approach, Carlo Ginsburg's *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1980; 1st Italian edition, 1976).

2. Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (SCM Press, London, 1972; 1st German edition, 1934). An influential criticism of Bauer by a British patristic scholar may be found in H.E.W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth* (Mowbray, London, 1954).

3. Maurice Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996).

4. The author cheerfully admits to plundering the Yale edition of Sir Thomas More's works for this phrase. For an illuminating parallel between More's writings against Tyndale and the genre of 'anatomies', see Lawler's essay in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* [hereafter CWM], ed. Thomas M.C. Lawler, Germain Marc'hadour, and Richard C. Marius, 6, part 2 (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981), esp. pp. 440 f.

5. Berhardus de Lutzenburgo, O.P., *Catalogus hæreticorum omnium pene, qui a scriptoribus passim literis proditi sunt, nomina, errores, & tempora quibus vixerunt ostendens . . . iv libris conscriptis. Quorum quartus Lutheri negotium nonnihil attingit* (N.p., n.d. [Cologne, 1522]), quarto, sigs ai^r–miv^v.

6. Konrad Koch ('Wimpina'), *Sectarum, errorum, hallucinationum, & schismatum, ab origine ferme Christianæ ecclesiæ, ad hæc usque nostra tempora, consisioris Anacephalæoseos, Una cum aliquantis Pigardicarum, Vuiglefticarum, & Lutheranarum hæresum: confutationibus, librorum partes tres. Quarum Prima in libros partiales secernitur Octo* (Frankfurt on Oder, 1528), folio, 1–CXXVI; 1–XCVI (with erratum page); 1–7, 1–CLXI. For Wimpina's life and works, see Joseph Negwer, *Konrad Wimpina. Ein katholischer Theologe aus der Reformationszeit*, Kirchengeschichtlicher Abhandlungen, 7 (G. P. Aderholz, Breslau, 1909; reprinted B. De Graaf, Nieuwkoop, 1967).

7. Guido de Perpiniano, *Summa de hæresibus . . . in qua hæreses ab initio mundi usque ad eius tempora, hoc est, ad Annum Domini millesimum trecentessimum & ultra, accuratere censetur & refutantur. Opus ad huius temporis hæreticos redarguendos aptissimum, diu desideratum, & nunc primum in Germania editum, opera et studio R.P.F. Ioannis Seineri Volckmartiani, Ordinis Carmelitarum, SS. Theologiæ Doctoris & in Universitate Coloniensi eiusdem Facultatis ordnarii professoris* (Petrus a Brachel, Cologne, 1631), folio, pp. 202 + [5]. (Only this later edition, held in the Bodleian Library, was available to me.)

8. Alfonso de Castro, OFM, *Adversus omnes hæreses libri XIII* (Michel Vascosanus, Paris, 1541), folio, +i^r-+x^v + i^r-227^v. (Only this later edition, in the Bodleian Library, was available to me.)

9. *Breve D. Conradi Bruni jureconsulti Introductorium de hæreticis. E sex libris eius excerptum, Hoc tempore summopere consyderandum et tam scitu necessarium quam lectu iucundum. Tribus capitulis compræhensum*, ed. Johann Cochlaeus (Franz Behem, Mainz, 1548); *D. Conradi Bruni jureconsulti libri sex, De hæreticis in genere*, ed. Johann Cochlaeus (Franz Behem, Mainz, 1549).

10. For an account of this episode, see David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1994), pp. 109f. For Cochlaeus himself, see the most recent treatment by Monique Samuel-Scheyder, *Johannes Cochlaeus: Humaniste et adversaire de Luther* (Presses Universitaires de Nancy, Nancy, 1993).

11. Robert J. Wilkinson, 'Reconstructing Tyndale in Latomus: William Tyndale's last, lost book', in *Reformation*, 1 (1996), pp. 252–85.

12. To judge from the references in the *Table Talk*, Luther clearly remembered Latomus long and with comparative favour. From 1532 we have 'Latomus optimus omnium, qui contra me scripserunt. . . . Erasmus non est æqualis Latomo' (*D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden*, 6 vols [H. Böhlau, Weimar, 1912–1921] [hereafter *WA TR*], 2, p. 189, lines 22–26, no. 1709); from 1533: 'Unus Latomus scripsit contra Luther; reliqui omnes, etiam Erasmus, sunt ranæ coaxantes' (*WA TR*, 1, p. 202, lines 5–7, no. 463); from 1538: 'Ille omnium antagonistarum meorum erat insignis' (*WA TR*, 4, p. 145, lines 21–23, no. 4119); and from 1540: 'Latomus fuit doctissimus adversariorum Lutheri; is serio scripsit' (*WA TR*, 5, p. 75, lines 7–8, no. 5345).

13. Jacobus Latomus, *Opera omnia* (B. Gravius, Louvain, 1579). The treatises referred to are 'De quæstionum generibus, quibus ecclesia certat intus et foris' (fols 86^r–93^r); 'De ecclesia' (fols 93^v–100^r); 'De ratione obligandi humanæ legis' (fols 100^r–103^r); and 'De confessione secreta' (fols 104^v–118^r). All were first published together in 1525.

14. Augustine, *De utilitate credendi*, ch. 1 (*Patrologia Latina*, 217 vols + 4 index vols, ed. J. P. Migne [Paris, 1841–1861] [hereafter *MPL*], 42, col. 65). This influential definition is cited in Canon Law (*Decretum Gratiani*, pars II, causa XXIV, qu. III, c. 28—see *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. A. Friedberg, 2 vols [Leipzig, 1879] [hereafter *CICan*], 1, col. 998) and also in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*, 2a 2ae, qu. 11, De hæresi, art. 1, 2. See also Brunus, *De hæreticis in genere*, p. 18; Castro, *Adversus omnes hæreses*, fol. 3^v; Luxembourg, *Catalogus*, sig. b2^v.

15. Jerome, *Commentariorum in epistolam ad Galatas libri tres*, 3, ch. 5 (*MPL*, 26, col. 417). Also *Decretum Gratiani*, 2, causa XXIV, qu. III, c. 27

(*CICan*, 1, 997f.); Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a 2ae, qu. 11, De hæresi, art. 2, 2; Brunus, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Castro, *op. cit.*, fol. 3^v; Luxembourg, *op. cit.*, sig. b3^r.

16. 'Sed una mater superbia omnes [hæreticos] genuit; sicut una mater nostra Catholica omnes Christianos fideles toto orbe diffusos' (Augustine, *Sermo*, 46, ch. 18 [*MPL*, 38, col. 280]); 'Superbia, mater omnium hæreticorum' (*idem*, *Contra epistolam Manichæi*, ch. 6 [*MPL*, 42, col. 177]).

17. 'Non enim error tantum, in his quæ sunt fidei, sed pertinacia in errore Hæreticum facit, ut Augustinus docet' (Brunus, *op. cit.*, p. 3). The Augustine reference is to *De civitate Dei*, 18, ch. 51 (*MPL*, 41, col. 613): 'Qui in ecclesia Christi morbidum aliquid pravumque sapiunt, si correpti, ut sanum rectumque sapiant, resistunt contumaciter, suaque pestifera et mortifera dogmata emendare nolunt, sed defensare persistunt, hæretici fiunt'. Brunus would probably have been familiar with this definition from its use by Gratian. See *Decretum Gratiani*, 2, causa XXIV, qu. III, c. 31 (*CICan*, 1, col. 998).

18. Brunus, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

19. Latomus, *De questionum generibus*, fol. 92^r.

20. 'Et nostra tempestate multa docte, recte, ac pie scripserunt hæretici: sed hæc omnia, quæ intermiscent probabiliora videantur. . . . Unde vehementer nobis cavendum est, ne se vel sensibus vel auribus nostris huiusmodi aliquid, quo per manifesta vera manifeste falsa inferunt, latenter insinuet' (Brunus, *op. cit.*, p. 35). See also Castro, *op. cit.*, fol. 22^r, and Latomus, *Contra articulos quosdam Martini Lutheri a Theologis Lovaniensis damnatos* (in *Opera omnia*), fol. 1^v: 'Itaque hæretici permiscunt recta perversis, ut ostendo bona auditores ad se trahant, & exhibendo mala latenti eos peste corrumpant'; Thomas More, *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (*CWM*, vol. 6, part 1), p. 347, line 24; and *idem*, *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (*CWM*, vol. 8), pp. 32, 57, 911; cf. p. 162.

21. Latomus, *De confessione secreta*, fol. 105^r. Latomus actually cites 'Manichæus', rather than Marcion, as his example of one who rejects the authority of the Old Testament. It is conceivable that this is a slip of the pen; but Augustine regarded Manichæism as a Christian heresy, and posterity generally followed him in this view.

22. Castro, *op. cit.*, fols 20^r, 23^r.

23. Thomas M.C. Lawler, in his introduction to the Yale edition of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, notes that "malice" is the word More uses to describe a person so possessed with diabolical pride and envy that no natural means, such as dialogue or persuasion, can cure him. Throughout the *Dialogue* More uses the word to indicate that a person is clearly and without doubt a heretic' (*CWM*, 6, part 2, p. 444).

24. More, *op. cit.*, p. 366, line 1. See also *ibid.*, p. 347, lines 21-23.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 327, line 18.

26. More, *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (CWM, vol. 8), p. 31, line 29. On the wider use of 'malice' in the *Confutation*, see for example p. 12, line 3, and p. 30, line 9.

27. More, *Dialogue*, p. 47, line 21.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 211, line 14.

29. *Idem*, *Confutation*, p. 34, lines 8–16.

30. *The Whole Workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doct. Barnes*, ed. John Foxe (John Daye, London, 1573), sig. Biii^r.

31. *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, ed. H. Gee and W. J. Hardy (London, 1896), no. 42, pp. 133–37.

32. Brunus, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

33. Latomus, *De ecclesia*, fol. 95^v. Schismatics include those who account all bishops as of equal standing ('isti tollunt ordinem & connexionem iuncturæ corporis, & ordinem prælationis & subiectionis ipsius ecclesiæ') and those who deny any distinction between Christians ('ordinem tollunt membrorum in corpore').

34. 'Denique totius Reipublicæ Christianæ status & forma in peius commutatur, & tandem in totum etiam subvertitur & aboletur' (Brunus, *op. cit.*, p. 86).

35. *Ibid.*, bk 2, ch. 7.

36. More, *Dialogue*, pp. 368–72.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 402, line 27, and p. 405, line 15 (Luther's denial of free will utterly subverts all virtue and all good order); p. 427, line 29 (heretics intend to make England a place of riot and sedition, as they have Switzerland or Saxony); *idem*, *Confutation*, p. 12, line 5; p. 13, line 1; p. 13, line 20 (heretics labour to do others harm, both physical and spiritual); p. 56, line 22; p. 59, line 25; p. 138, line 8; p. 483, line 20; p. 515, line 13; p. 608, line 22 (heretics create sedition, as is shown by the Peasants' War).

38. Latomus, *De ecclesia*, fol. 92^v. On the use of this theme by other opponents of the Reformation, see also Jodocus Clichtoveus, *Antilutherus tres libros complectens* (S. Colinaeus, Paris, 1524), 2, fols 113^v–114^v; Edward Powell, *Propugnaculum summi sacerdotii evangelici, ac septenarii sacramentorum, adversus Martinum Lutherum fratrem famosum et Wiclefistam insignem* (R. Pynson, London, 1523), fol. 35^v; Johann Eck, *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum et alios hostes ecclesiæ* (1525), Corpus Catholicorum 34, ed. Pierre Fraenkel (Aschendorff, Münster, 1979), pp. 286, 313, 317, 415; John Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio* (1523), in *idem*, *Opera omnia* (G. Fleischmann, Würzburg, 1597; reprinted by Gregg Press, Farnborough, 1967), cols 300, 313; Joannes Antonius Modestus, *Oratio ad Carolem Cæsarem contra Martinum Lutherum* (Strasbourg, 1521), sig. Bi^v.

39. Castro, *op. cit.*, fol. 2^r; see also *ibid.*, 21^v. See also Brunus, *op. cit.*, pp. 40f.: 'At hæresis omnium nocentissima pestis est, quæ non hæreticum

tantum extra Ecclesiam ejicit, & omni salute destituit: sed etiam latissime serpens, contagione sua quam plurimos corrumpit, totumque adeo agrum Dominicum devastat. Propter quod aliquibus visum est, propter immanitatem huius criminis, hæreticum etiam quovis Ethnico, quantumlibet malo, esse peiorem'. Brunus cites Augustine's *De baptismo contra Donatistas*, bk 6, ch. 44 (*MPL*, 43, col. 223).

40. More, *Dialogue*, p. 36, line 19; p. 347, line 23; p. 411, line 13; *idem*, *Confutation*, pp. 28–29.

41. Brunus, *op. cit.*, pp. 63f. See also Luxembourg, *op. cit.*, b1^r. On the medieval tradition of this interpretation, see R. I. Moore, 'Heresy as disease', in *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11th–13th Centuries)*, *Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain, May 13–16, 1973*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven University Press, Leuven, 1983), pp. 1–11.

42. Luxembourg, *op. cit.*, sigs a2^v, a4^v; More, *Dialogue*, p. 190, line 10; pp. 203–04, 238, 243–45; *idem*, *Confutation*, p. 419, line 7; pp. 608, 611, 626, 695.

43. See esp. Luxembourg, *op. cit.*, chs 3 and 4; Brunus, *op. cit.*, chs 12–15; More, *Confutation*, p. 516.

44. Brunus, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 62.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 67: 'Iam & simijs recte a patribus comparantur hæretici: Quoniam ut simia (inquit Ioannes Chrysostomus) hominis habet membra, et per omnia hominem imitatur, ne tamen dicenda est homo'. For the use of the same image in Cyprian's *Epistola* 69, see *Decretum Gratiani*, 2, causa 1, qu. 1, c. 70 (*CICan*, 1, col. 382).

46. More, *Confutation*, p. 516.

47. Latomus, *De ecclesia*, chs 9–14; Brunus, *op. cit.*, bks 4–6; Luxembourg, *op. cit.*, sig. b2^v; More, *Dialogue*, p. 430, line 28; *idem*, *Confutation*, pp. 589, 790, 791, 953.

48. Castro, *op. cit.*, fol. 22^v; Luxembourg, *op. cit.*, sig. L3^v.

49. More, *Dialogue*, p. 416, line 13.

50. Castro, *op. cit.*, fol. 19^r.

51. *Ibid.*, fol. 3^r.

52. *Ibid.*, fol. 14^v.

53. More, *Dialogue*, p. 37, line 35.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 266, line 21.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 37, line 19 (my emphasis).

56. 'Wherein if Tyndale dare say that I say false, I shall yet once again like a blind harper that harpeth all on one string, fall to my rude refrain, and sing him mine old song, wherein I have so often prayed him to tell us then some one of them all that ever accounted it lawful and held it not abominable a friar to wed a nun' (More, *Confutation*, p. 727, line 29). The 'old song' can also be found on pp. 33, 122, 125, 139, 141, 207, 229, 337, 338, 359, 424, 482, 484, 485, 496, 516, 589, 626, 653, 695, 1033 of the same work.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 941, line 32.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 951, line 25.

59. Brunus, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

60. More, *Confutation*, p. 5, line 20.

61. I am grateful to Anne O'Donnell, SND, for emphasising the importance of More's intended readership for any evaluation of his anti-Tyndale writings.

62. Castro, *op. cit.*, fol. 19^r.

63. Latomus, *De ecclesia*, fols 88^v–89^r. The reference is to *Decretum Gratiani*, 2, causa XXIV, qu. 1 (*CICan*, 1, col. 966).

64. More, *Confutation*, p. 625, line 2. See also p. 694, line 31, and p. 1033, line 25.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 626, line 19. See also pp. 120, 140, 732, 767.

66. *Idem*, *Dialogue*, p. 125, line 5; p. 191, line 31; p. 269, line 27; p. 338, line 35; p. 423, line 20.

67. Brunus, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 38; Luxembourg, *op. cit.*, sig. b4^v; Wimpina, *op. cit.*, fol. V^r. The analogy was suggested by Augustine.

69. On the disunity of heretics in More, see *Dialogue*, p. 191, line 23; p. 192, line 25; p. 354, line 5; *idem*, *Confutation*, pp. 29, 198, 482, 485, 611, 627.

70. An important factor in English trials for Lollardy was the *fama*, or heretical reputation, which the accused suffered amongst his or her neighbours, and perhaps this idea lay behind More's appeal to what 'every good Christian man would agree for heresies'. I am grateful to Andrew Hope for this observation.

Tyndale and the European Reformation¹

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‘For your intent
In going back to school in Wittenberg,
It is most retrograde to our desire;
And we beseech you, bend you to remain
Here in the cheer and comfort of our eye,
Our chiefest courtier, cousin, and our son’.
(1.2.112–17)

A well-known scene from Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*. Wittenberg, world famous in 1603—the year of the Quarto edition—as a seat of learning and Reformation theology, the university of Luther, Melanchthon, and many others, attracts the Prince of Denmark, to the dismay of his stepfather, the King. And the Queen joins in with two lines that are dripping with subliminal irony:

‘Let not thy mother lose her prayers, Hamlet:
I pray thee, stay with us; go not to Wittenberg’.
(1.2.118–19)

The Queen of a country thoroughly under the sway of the Reformation by 1600 is praying for her son’s rejection of the very university where a combination of fervent prayers and academic excellence helped to make the Reformation a theological and scholarly, not merely a political and social, element in European history. Hamlet never reached Wittenberg, but many others did, including a fair number of British theologians. One of them in fact, Dr Robert Barnes, became what one might call Martin Luther’s special envoy and, in a way, the representative of Wittenberg and the Lutheran Reform in Britain

¹The Third Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture, given in the Great Hall of the Library, Lambeth Palace, London, on Wednesday, 9 October 1996.

and, conversely, Henry VIII's sometime ambassador to the continental Lutherans, until the King had him executed on 30 July 1540.

Barnes and Luther had common monastic roots: they had both been Augustinian Hermits, or *Augustiner-Eremiten*, to employ the German term. In 1528 Barnes went—or rather fled—to Wittenberg. In 1531, he returned to England to help the King in his antipapal politics; in 1535, Luther provided the prologue to Barnes's history of the popes. And Robert Barnes was the initial link between William Tyndale and the European Reformation. He, like Tyndale, was a trained classicist, well versed in Greek and Latin. To begin with, Barnes had introduced Terence, Plautus, and Cicero at the Augustinian Priory in Cambridge. Cicero, that overpolished source of learning, may sound acceptable, but one would not normally assume that the ribald wit and ostentatious debauchery of Terence and Plautus were archetypal monastic material. But the German nun Hrotsvith von Gandersheim had drunk that milk of paradise in the tenth century, when she converted Terence into edifying biblical plays. The humanist Conrad Celtis edited her works, with a learned introduction, five-and-a-half centuries after her death, but decades before Barnes, Tyndale, or even Erasmus appeared on the scene. Roman comedy had a didactic purpose, and European humanism introduced it to the budding reformers. We have to take note of this for a simple reason: the origins of the European Reformation, of which William Tyndale was an integral part, cannot be understood without the literary and philological competence of at least some of its leading proponents.

Proof cannot be supplied, but it may be assumed that Tyndale was at Cambridge for a brief period of time, for which the outer limits, provided by more certain biographical information, are 1517 and 1521. It is just possible that he and Barnes met at Cambridge, but since Barnes, as the prior of the Cambridge Augustinians, gave his famous public sermon on Easter Eve 1525, five years after Tyndale must have left the place, we may doubt it. Even in Wittenberg, they would not have met. Barnes arrived in 1528; Tyndale, who was probably registered at the university on 17 May 1524 as *Guillelmus Daltic ex Anglia*, left for Cologne in 1525, while Barnes was still at Cambridge. They may, however, have met in Antwerp, where Barnes arrived before Christmas 1531, and where Tyndale had found his abode at the 'English House' in Antwerp between 1526 and his kidnapping and execution in 1536. Be this as it may, a personal acquaintanceship was no prerequisite for

the mutual acknowledgement of common roots, common friends, and common goals. Barnes, like Tyndale, was a prime example of the open-minded and committed scholar who did not regard the evil of necessity—in their case, the necessity to leave England to avoid persecution or to get on with their work in what they hoped would be safe surroundings—as an impediment. To them, it was a constructive challenge. Both saw Wittenberg, that centre of learning and devotion, with Luther, Melanchthon, and their circle, as an obvious port of call.

Before he left for the other place, Tyndale had taken his BA at Oxford in July 1512. The set texts he had studied included Aristotle, Boethius, Euclid, Ovid, Priscian, Ptolemy, and Virgil. He took his MA in 1515 and until then had studied the obligatory masters of ancient rhetoric, Cicero and Quintilian. He knew Erasmus's famous, extremely popular treatise on rhetoric, *De copia*, first published in 1512 and later translated the Dutchman's *Enchiridion militis christiani* into English.

But as a true scholar, Tyndale persevered beyond those set texts. And when he went to London in 1523, to convince the Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, that the New Testament should be translated into English not from the Latin Vulgate, but from the original Greek text—of which a first printed edition had been provided by Erasmus in 1516, amended in 1519—he demonstrated his linguistic competence by translating a speech of the Greek orator Isocrates. Tyndale's choice should not be underestimated. It was the conscious, strategical decision of a man who knew that a reform of the Church from within, *via* the availability of Bibles in the vernacular, must be based on state-of-the-art reliability, rather than on the well-intentioned but selective interpretation of Bible and Church history championed by movements like the Lollards or the Hussites.

Bishop Tunstall himself was a classical scholar. He had been instrumental in getting Erasmus to Queens' College Cambridge in 1511 and was certainly in favour of a return to the study of the original biblical languages, in particular to the Greek of the New Testament. But as a bishop, he was, almost of necessity, of two minds. As much as he accepted and encouraged the publication and study of the original texts, he also felt that he had to be a defender of faith—of *the* faith, if you like—in the official Church and its doctrine, rather than a propagator of a potentially dangerous, potentially pro-Lutheran enterprise. Tunstall was Buridan's Ass, and he could not help it. Tyndale had

anticipated the bishop's plight; choosing Isocrates rather than a text from the New Testament itself—from the notoriously difficult and opaque Greek of Revelation, for example, or from one of St Paul's letters, which even his fellow apostle St Peter thought were 'speaking of such things among which are many things hard to be understood' (to quote Tyndale's translation of 2 Peter 3:16)—choosing Isocrates rather than the New Testament, he could sidestep the issue of the purportedly uncouth Greek of the New Testament *versus* the almost sanctified Latin of the Vulgate and concentrate on an area of competence where Tunstall was his equal as a scholar and might even be flattered by being asked to judge the translation of a Greek orator.

New Testament Greek was thought to be pedestrian, low class, if not downright wrong in many places—an assumption only recently corrected by renewed philological comparison with Hellenistic literature of the first century. Isocrates, on the other hand, was held in great esteem as a master of the language, a great rhetorician, a highly successful teacher of oratory. One of his speeches, the so-called *Areiopagitikós*, written in c. 355 B.C., was his attempt at reestablishing the rights and privileges of the ancient court of Athens, the Areopagus. Here, Tyndale may have seen a subtle link: St Paul, some four hundred years after Isocrates, addressed that very same philosophers' assembly of the Areopagus with his speech about the Unknown God (Acts 17). More than that, Tyndale may have introduced an element of irony by his choice of Isocrates as the vehicle of his skills as a translator: St Paul's style may be rough and ready at times, but underneath the surface, there is a wealth of new and challenging ideas. Isocrates, on the other hand, wrote a polished Greek that was as smooth and cold as marble, but behind it, there was no depth nor novelty of thought. In fact, the surprising success of Isocrates as a teacher of outstanding pupils once caused Cicero to remark that he was like the wooden Trojan Horse: true princes left his belly.

Thus, Tyndale's choice of Isocrates was certainly more than a mere finger exercise. And there is, of course, also a European, a continental dimension in this—a dimension that once again takes us straight to the intellectual, scholarly background and integrity of the Reformation: the first copies of the speeches of Isocrates had come to England from Milan *via* France and Germany. They had been printed in Milan in 1493 by Demetrios Chalkoudylas, author of the first Greek grammar. The sociopolitical and pedagogical elements in his writings had

turned the Greek rhetorician into a favourite author of the educated Hellenists, and all around Tyndale, people began to read, study, and above all to translate Isocrates. The most famous and influential contemporary of Tyndale's in this respect was Sir Thomas Elyot. Elyot was born either four years before Tyndale or five years after him, but in any case, he was born. He and Tyndale shared a love of the Greek language and its literature, and for the English vernacular. Elyot was in fact the only humanist of his time who wrote in his own language. In 1531, the year Tyndale was busy translating Jonah and revising his translation of Genesis in Antwerp, the year also when Robert Barnes returned from Wittenberg to London, Henry VIII made Elyot his ambassador to the court of Emperor Charles V in Regensburg. In 1534, Elyot translated and published a compilation of texts by Isocrates under the title of *The Doctrine of Princes*—it was the year when Tyndale concluded the final edition of his New Testament in English. Two years later, Tyndale was dead, while Elyot embarked on the project of his famous Latin–English dictionary, which was published in 1538. But whatever the range of Elyot's achievements, Tyndale was the first translator of Isocrates into English—he preceded the great humanist by some fourteen years.

Here we have, side by side, two philologists, two Europeans, joined in their love for the Greek and Latin languages, masters in both, and yet divided by their vision of what they were to do with their outstanding gifts. The one, Elyot, remained a loyal friend of the humanistic world, surviving and excelling in the world of politics even after the execution of his close friend Thomas More; the other, Tyndale, risked and gave his life not for the humanistic, but for the religious, the Christian truth. Both spent decisive years on the continent, and both must be called the twin progenitors of modern English. Elyot shaped the new, flexible English prose style, the language of the educated gentleman whose upbringing he had described in his bestseller of 1531, *The Book Named the Governor*. Tyndale shaped the language of faith and literature, the expressiveness and penetrating clarity of a language that could become Shakespearian as much as biblical, a language made to be recited and to be memorised.

And thus we see that Tyndale's choice of Isocrates for that decisive meeting with Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall in 1523—the year Elyot was made clerk to Cardinal Wolsey's Privy Council—was no mere whim. It had strategical and European implications, and it was a direct appeal

to the Greek-loving humanist in Bishop Tunstall. Obviously therefore, Tyndale's disappointment at the bishop's blunt refusal to back the project of an English Bible was all the more severe and added another dimension to his decision to leave for the Continent and to go, in one of Luther's favourite words, *ad fontes*, to the sources.

Tyndale represents the type of devout and inspirational, mould-breaking Christian who not only reconciled faith with knowledge but who based the thrust of his endeavours, his reforming ideas, on a solid and profound grasp of the groundwork. Then and now, and even in the beginnings of Christianity, such people are feared and envied by lesser minds from their own ranks. Paul was accepted as a philosopher by the philosophers' standing committee in Athens, the Areopagus; they appreciated his classical learning, his references to Aratus and Cleanthes, and so forth; and while the majority did not side with him—a fate most philosophers share after their lectures at most philosophical congresses even today—they asked him to address them not once, but twice. Paul's struggles were homemade: he fought the 'people from James', as he tells us in his letter to the Galatians, and he was fought in turn by those who did not appreciate his Græco-Roman evangelism at all. In fact, Clement of Rome tells us in his first letter, an early and reliable document, that Paul—and Peter—were betrayed to the Romans in the wake of the Neronian Persecution by fellow Christians, out of jealousy and envy. It was not just that Paul had different theological ideas and that he could be regarded as a dangerous reformer by the old Jewish-Christian orthodoxy which was content with the mission to the Jews and a certain amount of pagan proselytising provided it happened *via* the laws and rules of Judaism. His real problem was that he had the learning and the technical competence to substantiate his concept with constant references to the teaching of the *Tanach*, the Jewish Bible, *and* to the accumulated wisdom of the non-Jewish Roman Empire at the same time. Not unlike St Paul, Tyndale was dangerous and an enemy of the old guard precisely because he was an excellent scholar, a brilliant philologist, and a courageous thinker.

On the Continent, Tyndale had few equals among reform-oriented colleagues. Erasmus, of course, had inspired a reform of Christian attitudes and lifestyle with his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which Tyndale translated into English. After Erasmus's death, Pope Paul IV banned his books because of their outspoken nature. But Erasmus never became a true reformer and never accepted nor encouraged the actual

reform of the Church as an institution. Quite on the contrary, the great Desiderius, who in spite of his years at Cambridge never learnt English, provided Thomas More with ammunition for his attacks against Tyndale, who in turn was less than happy with the obvious deficiencies of the Greek New Testament that Erasmus had published in 1516. Tyndale, like Luther, had to work with one of the first three editions of 1516, 1519, and 1522, which did not encourage trust in Erasmus as a Greek scholar. Time and again Erasmus 'corrected' the text of the few Greek manuscripts he had at his disposal in Basel by preferring the text of the Latin Vulgate, without explaining his criteria. At the end of Revelation, the only Greek manuscript he could find—a copy borrowed from his friend Johannes Reuchlin, which did not contain the last six verses (22:16–21)—Erasmus invented the Greek text by translating it from the Vulgate into a highly idiosyncratic Greek. Elsewhere, in Revelation 17:4, he created a new Greek word, *akathártetos*, which he probably thought could be a declination of *akathártes*, which, however, does not exist either. The scholar in Erasmus was useful to Tyndale only through the Latin translation the Dutchman had printed alongside his Greek text. Here Tyndale could find the occasional support for his controversial philological decisions. Thus, when Tyndale translated *ekklesia* as 'congregation', he was, first of all, philologically correct. This is precisely what the Greek word, like its Hebrew equivalent *qahal*, means. And Erasmus, in his Latin translation, has *congregatio*, not *ecclesia*, as the Vulgate has it.

In short, Tyndale's yardstick as a scholar is the philologically accurate equivalence, applied in a form that can be understood or at least explained. Tyndale knew of course that the Bible is not always and in every instance self-explanatory. Understanding the Bible, understanding Christianity was a process that involved teaching and careful, extended initiation. He would have abhorred the modern, fashionable Bible translators' ideal of dynamic equivalence, which consciously and purposefully takes all sorts of liberties with the original text, as did in fact the Church that he tried to reform.

A good example of what we have lost by disregarding Tyndale's heritage and the timeless principles on which he gave us our English Bible was recently—and I suppose unwittingly—provided by a review of The Holy Bible, New Living Translation, ironically produced by a publishing house called 'Tyndale' [*The Church of England Newspaper*, 27 September 1996, reviewed by Judy West]. The reviewer explains

'dynamic equivalence' as 'producing (in English) the closest natural equivalent of the message expressed in the original' and apparently thinks that the New Living Translation is a successful example of this technique. She gives a number of examples, such as the use of 'inclusive language where it is clear that the text refers both to men and women' or that 'references to Jewish leaders are specific, and not referred to simply as "Jews"'. The arbitrariness of this approach is evident even to nonspecialists; it becomes obvious when you open a newspaper. Recently (6 October 1996) the *Sunday Telegraph* offered the following headline on its front page: 'Palace to Charles: Diana's happiness comes first'. Should we have to retranslate this so as to avoid the impression that the whole Palace (which Palace?) suddenly spoke up? Or should we not rather expect readers to be informed enough to understand what and who is meant? And if not, do we not and shall we not in the future employ teachers of history at our schools and universities who can be called upon to explain a certain, time-bound use of the phrase to future generations without having to fiddle with the original text?

The review of the New Living Translation then goes on to make the loss we are suffering in negating Tyndale's achievement abundantly, if again unwittingly, clear by quoting and contrasting John 1:12–13 in the King James Version with the new translation. (And I add that the King James text is in fact undiluted Tyndale.)

But as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the sons of God, even to them that believed on his name. Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

And the New Living Translation, clearly favoured by the reviewer:

But to all who believed him, he gave the right to become children of God. They are reborn! This is not a physical birth resulting from human passion or plan—this rebirth comes from God.

The New Living Translation (NLT) may be dynamic, but it certainly is not equivalent to anything, least of all to the text of John 1:12–13. Substituting a wooden biology lesson for Tyndale's precise equivalence almost amounts to a betrayal of one of the guiding principles of the early Reformation. Let us briefly consider the details to

realise what was and is at stake. At every juncture, there are words that must influence our understanding of the text. Tyndale has 'the *power* to become the sons of God'; the NLT has 'the *right* to become children of God'. No dynamic equivalence is entitled to turn 'power' into 'right' if that is not what the text says. The text has *exousia*, which means 'power', or an 'entitlement' to something, here: to become the *tékna*, the children of God. Since *téknōn* usually means male children, but generally was an inclusive term ('someone born'), Tyndale was justified in translating 'sons of God', which could not be understood as exclusive in the sense of ruling out daughters from that closeness to God. What we may have gained by explicitly putting the *children* in the place of *sons*, we have lost by turning a God-given *power* to act into a high-handed *right*. That loss of clarity continues when the NLT simply omits the essential emphasis on faith. Tyndale begins the passage by translating, very accurately and dynamically, 'But as many as received him, to them he gave power'. The NLT merely has 'But to all who believed him, he gave the right'. *Élabon* means 'received'—it implies an act of acceptance, of open-armed intimacy. A whole world of a Christian's attitude towards God lies behind the first few words of that verse, and it is destroyed by the term used in the NLT translation, a word that is neither dynamically nor otherwise equivalent to the Greek text.

Tyndale ends the verse by translating that the power to become sons of God is given 'to them that believed on his name'. He was fully aware of the importance of God's name and of naming in general throughout the Bible, and thus he gives us what the Greek text says. The NLT translators have not understood the wealth of Judæo-Christian thought behind this expression, and their decision results in a falsification: they simply drop those words. And there is worse to come: Instead of translating what is there, they invent a statement that is nowhere to be seen in the original—'They are reborn!' The exclamation mark turns a freely invented statement into a formidable utterance. This sort of manipulation of the original text was precisely what Tyndale had eradicated from the English Bible when he insisted, against Roman Catholic practise, on the straightforward meaning wherever it was attainable and on taking the readers of his translation back to a faith that was purified from layers of subjective theology that were cluttering the text. The possible excuse of the NLT translators—that the new birth is expanded in chapter 3 of St John's Gospel and that therefore 1:12 can be understood as an anticipation—would make

matters only worse. Whatever a text may offer later on must never infiltrate the translation of what is said before. We cannot claim the arrogance of knowing better than the author of that Gospel.

And finally, the beautiful description of those who believe in God's name—those who 'were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God'—is watered down beyond recognition in the NLT's 'This is not a physical birth resulting from human passion or plan—this rebirth comes from God'. How can one dare to bowdlerise St John's Gospel by dropping all reference to blood and blood-relationship, or to the bodily desire of men and women who are behind the physical birth of children, by just calling it 'human passion'—and where is there any allusion to passion in the text, anyway? How dare they turn 'the will of man' (*ek thelématos andros* in the Greek), a precise reference not to all human beings of both sexes (*anér*, male being, not *anthrōpos*!), but to men in their often reckless or at any rate superior role when it came to the production of children in antiquity (and not only in antiquity, as we know from contemporary social studies), into a bland and completely hollow 'human plan'?

Everything in that text, the whole depth and profoundness of St John's Gospel, its allusion to the real world of real people who were the target readership of that Gospel, is levelled down beyond recognition. Those who want to understand what the New Living Translation is trying to get across will need careful exegesis to get them back to St John. It will have to be an exegesis that rescues the text from its translators. If, on the other hand, Tyndale needs interpretation, it may involve one or two words that are no longer common currency. But beyond that, Tyndale will take readers straight into the true world of the Bible, the Jewish and the Christian understanding of the God who acts in history. This is what a translation should achieve. The NLT fails dismally; Tyndale still stands as the shining, reforming light of the Church. Tyndale's translation contributed to the reform of the Church from within. *Ecclesia semper reformanda*—if we cannot find another Tyndale today, we should at least save and savour what he achieved.

Tyndale's choice of 'congregation' instead of 'church' took us into this contemporary case study. But it was not just this one term that irritated the Roman Catholic authorities in London, who had assumed, with Rome, that Jesus had instituted the Church with her popes when he said, at Cæsarea Philippi, that he would build the *ecclesia* on Simon Peter, who had called him the *Messiah*, the Christ. A church whose

very founding word is being taken away from under her feet must feel threatened. Tyndale also refused to translate the Greek *présbus*, *presbútes*, or *presbúteros* as 'priest' in references to Christian leaders. In his first translation, he used 'senior'; in his last revision of 1534, he changed it to 'elder'. 'Priest' is reserved for the Greek *hiereús*, which is used in the New Testament for the Jewish Temple priests, or for Christ himself as the high priest in Hebrews 5:6, or for the common priesthood of all believers as in Revelation 1:6. One more example: The Greek word *metanoéo* means 'to turn round', 'to change one's purpose or mind', in other words, 'to re-pent'. Thus, Tyndale translates 'repent', rather than 'do penance', with its manifold connotations which had led to mis-usage, including the trade in indulgences that had decisively contributed to Luther's protest against Rome. We could go on; Tyndale's philological exactness and disregard of officialdom behind the received interpretation of these terms has been summed up by David Daniell in his magisterial biography of the reformer:

He [Tyndale] is making the New Testament refer inwardly to itself, as he instructs his readers to do, and not outwardly to the enormous secondary construction of late-medieval practices of the Church. . . . He cannot possibly have been unaware that those words in particular undercut the entire sacramental structure of the thousand-year Church throughout Europe, Asia and north Africa. It was the Greek New Testament that was doing the undercutting. (*William Tyndale: A Biography*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1994, pp. 148–49)

And on the Continent? Luther's aim had been identical with Tyndale's. Like Robert Barnes, his fellow Augustinian monk, Luther had gone through the motions of a thorough education, and in 1512 he had been appointed professor of divinity at Wittenberg University. But he was no scholar in the sense of the term as one would apply it to Erasmus, or Barnes, or Elyot, or indeed to Tyndale. As Owen Chadwick puts it in his recent *History of Christianity* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1995, p. 202), 'Luther was a part of the truly religious drive towards reform and drastic change, he was never one for academic argument'. For scholarship, and for philological advice, he relied on fellow professors at Wittenberg, men like Philip Melanchthon and Matthäus Aurogallus. But he had been trained in the biblical languages,

so that even his very first translation of the New Testament was an immediate and astonishing success. Perhaps even more so than Tyndale in England, Luther created a literary language, modern German. And yet, when it came to the revisions, after Luther's exile at Wartburg Castle, Melanchthon and others exercised a beneficial influence. One may assume that Tyndale and Melanchthon were kindred spirits, and although this cannot be documented, it is a tempting thought to see them at Wittenberg University, discussing the Greek text of the New Testament or, indeed, together with that great Hebraist Aurogallus, Old Testament Hebrew.

Melanchthon had become professor of Greek at Wittenberg University in 1518, at the age of twenty-one. He participated in the reform of the university that established the role of the three classical languages—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In 1521, he published a Protestant dogmatics, *Loci theologici*. When Luther later urged him to switch from the philological to the theological faculty, he refused: the independent integrity of classical studies was paramount to him. Even so, he led the Protestant reformers during Luther's enforced absence and was the main author of the famous 'Augsburg Confession', the *Confessio Augustana*, which may be regarded as the founding document of Lutheranism as a Christian denomination, in 1530. His influence on the reform and consolidation of the German educational system earned him the epithet of a *Præceptor Germaniæ*. Whether Tyndale and Melanchthon ever met or not, Melanchthon's scholarship and his assessment of the literary quality of the New Testament were appreciated and shared by Tyndale and became instrumental in guaranteeing the quality of the English and continental Bible translations during the Reformation era. Melanchthon, the classicist who resisted the temptation to become a professional theologian, put it in a nutshell in 1549 when he wrote in a passage that cannot be quoted often enough and which occurs in his '*Oratio de studiis linguæ Græcæ*', his speech about the study of the Greek language:

The Apostles endeavoured, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to emulate the clarity of the words of Christ, and followed, as closely as possible, the form of language used by Christ, their teacher. . . . The rendition is, as far as the wording, the clarity and the emphasis are concerned, inestimable and inimitable.

Thus, Melanchthon implies, people should learn Greek, and indeed Hebrew, to fully understand the richness of the Gospel texts. Realizing that this would hardly be possible for everyone, he urges the translators to acquire expert philological knowledge of the texts and their linguistic background. Tyndale was perhaps the first to put this into practice in his own translation—much more so than Luther, at any rate. And he went beyond Melanchthon when he included the Hebrew and Aramaic element in his assessment of the Greek text. Tyndale wrote in his preface to the New Testament translation of 1534:

If ought seems changed, or not altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech left in the Greek words. Whose preterperfect tense and present tense is oft but one, and the future tense is the optative mode also, and the future tense is oft the imperative mode in the active voice, and in the passive ever. Likewise person for person, number for number, and an interrogation for a conditional, and such like is with the Hebrews a common usage.

This may sound somewhat technical to you, but it was brilliant stuff in 1534, truly reforming our understanding of the culture and the linguistic competence of the authors of the New Testament. With Tyndale, the Reformation had obtained an invaluable instrument. The Bible, and the New Testament in particular, had been rescued from its artificially Latinized straightjacket. And Tyndale contributed to this process not only because he returned to the original meaning of important historical, sociological, and theological terminologies in the Greek text, but also because he had understood the *context* of the text. It may be doubted that Melanchthon or Luther ever saw Tyndale's translation or read his prefaces and prologues; they knew no English. But in English-speaking Europe, and later throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, he was read and understood. It may therefore have been no accident that the twentieth-century reform of that area of biblical exegesis that deals with the contextualisation of the New Testament and its language was kicked off by a British scholar and an American scholar—Matthew Black and Joseph Fitzmyer.

Two of the most Jewish, most Hebraic writings of the New Testament are the General Epistle of James and the Epistle to the Hebrews. They may not have been as decisive for the European Reformation as

St Paul's epistle to the Romans, which has remained, to this day, the backbone of Protestant, and in particular of Lutheran, theology, ethics, and politics. But James is a kind of litmus test for the unbiased application of New Testament scholarship and theology. By this, I do not mean the question if St James the Apostle, the leader of the orthodox Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem between AD 41 and his murder in 62, was the authentic author. Only recently have scholars—again mainly Anglo-Saxon ones—begun to reassert his authorship and to suggest that his letter is the oldest New Testament epistle, preceding St Paul by several years. What I do mean is the undisputed Jewishness of the letter, its emphasis on values understood by people who had come from a devout Jewish background, members of 'the twelve tribes which are scattered here and there', as they are called in Tyndale's translation of the address, referring to the Jewish diaspora throughout the Roman Empire.

Luther read James with the eyes of St Paul—or so he thought—and under the influence of his own exegesis of the letter to the Romans, which included a conscious and purposeful mistranslation of Romans 3:28. 'For we suppose that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law', Tyndale translates and adds an explanatory note in the margin: 'Faith justifies'. This is precisely what the Greek text says, if you allow for a slight change of emphasis in modern English: 'We suppose' means 'we think / we are of the opinion', *logizómetha*. But Luther translates (and let me quote him first in German): '*So halten wir es nu / Das der Mensch gerecht werde / On des Gesetzes werck / alleine durch den Glauben*'—'So we are convinced that man is justified without the work of the law, alone by faith'. Even the latest revision of Luther's translation, dated 1984, retains that emphatic Lutheran addition, 'alone', the archetypal '*sola fide*' of Luther's reformation, which does not exist in the Greek text of Romans. No wonder then that Luther could not accept the General Epistle of James. In his *Vorrede* or prologue (last edition 1544), he combines faint praise—because 'it does not set up any man's doctrine and pushes God's law hard'—with scathing criticism because he, James, 'does nothing else but drive towards the law and its works and thus unnecessarily confounds things', and because 'he calls the law a law of liberty, whereas St Paul calls it a law of servitude, of wrath, of death, and of sin'.

Tyndale, on the other hand, viewed matters from a much broader perspective. To him, the position of James was fully justified, indeed

preconditioned, by the Old Testament, the Jewish *Tanach*, and its fulfillment in the New Testament. The whole of Scripture is the yardstick, rather than isolated and overemphasised passages from St Paul used outside their proper context. And thus, Tyndale writes, in his own preface to James:

For where he saith in the second chapter faith without deeds is dead in itself, he meaneth none other thing than all the scripture doth: how that faith which has no good deeds following, is a false faith and none of that faith justifieth or receiveth forgiveness of sins. For God promised them only forgiveness of their sins which turn to God, to keep his laws. Wherefore they that purpose to continue still in sin have no part in that promise: but deceive themselves, if they believe that God hath forgiven them their old sins for Christ's sake. And after when he saith that a man is justified by deeds and not of faith only, he will no more than that faith doth not so justify everywhere, that nothing justifieth save faith. For deeds also do justify. And as faith only justifieth before God, so do deeds only justify before the world, whereof is enough spoken, partly in the prologue on Paul to the Romans, and also in other places. For as Paul affirmeth (Rom. 4) that Abraham was not justified by works afore God, but by faith only as Genesis beareth record, so will James that deeds only justified him before the world, and faith wrought with his deeds: that is to say, faith wherewith he was righteous before God in the heart, did cause him to work the will of God outwardly, whereby he was righteous before the world, and whereby the world perceived that he believed in God, loved and feared God. And as (Hebrews II) the scripture affirmeth that Rahab was justified before God through faith, so doth James affirm that through works by which she shewed her faith, she was justified before the world, and it is true.

Wherever we look, Tyndale insisted on the Judæo-Christian wholeness of Scripture. Against Luther, who had called St Jude's letter 'an unnecessary epistle', he argued for its apostolicity. Again against Luther, who denied the apostolicity and hence the canonical place of the letter to the Hebrews, Tyndale claimed that 'Hebrews' was apostolic even if St Paul was not its author, and Tyndale adds, in his prologue,

‘. . . seeing the epistle agreeth to all the rest of scripture, if it be indifferently looked on, how should it not be of authority and taken for holy scripture?’ In other words, while Luther may be seen as a precursor of that recent fashion of Protestant—and copycat Catholic—theology, the attempt to define a canon within the canon, and to deny the apostolic status of certain epistles, or even, with the American ‘Jesus Seminar’ of Robert Funk and Dominic Crossan, to prefer the proto-Gnostic Gospel of Thomas to the four-Gospel canon of the New Testament, Tyndale understood, accepted, and substantiated the catholicity of both books of Holy Scripture, comprehensible and indivisible as the model of the real Church, the prototype of ‘unity in diversity’.

It was to the detriment of the European Reformation that the Continentals did not and, mainly for lack of competence in English, could not follow Tyndale. Perhaps only Jean Calvin, who—like Tyndale—was a trained classical scholar and never studied theology in the proper sense of that term, would have been able to do justice to Tyndale’s pioneering work. Calvin’s Geneva did eventually produce an outstanding example of truly reformed and truly Tyndalian Bible scholarship, the so-called Geneva Bible, published in 1560, four years before Calvin’s death, and helped along, in its formative stages, by the British reformer John Knox. It is one of those ironies of the conflicting tendencies within the European Reformation that in Britain the Geneva Bible became a momentary rival to Tyndale’s translation and to the Authorised Version based on it and that it was the Bible used by Shakespeare. Tyndale’s potential influence on the Geneva Bible, and indeed on the Reformation in Geneva, *via* John Knox, King Edward VI’s protégé, or through other channels, may be a satisfying subject of further study.

Insisting on the importance of translations for the European Reformation may look a trifle one-sided. However, the reformers’ guideline of *sola scriptura*, ‘by Scripture alone’, and its corollary, the mass dissemination of the Bible in the vernacular throughout Europe, was the single most influential aspect of the Reformation outside the realms of state politics. And the mere act of translating Scripture into languages understood by the people was in itself a return to the roots of Jewish and Judæo-Christian practice. After all, it was Alexandrian Jews who translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek, in the third century BC, because Jews in the ‘diaspora’ could no longer understand the

traditional classical language. Mark and the other evangelists provide examples of in-text translating, when they give us an original Aramaic or Hebrew saying and follow it with the Greek translation—*Talita kumi*—‘Girl, get up’ (Mark 5:41), or *Eloi, Eloi, lema sabachthani*—the famous beginning of the messianic Psalm 22, ‘My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?’ (Mark 15:33). They give us Greek technical terms and translate them into their Latin equivalents, or they use Latin technical terms straightaway, as in 2 Timothy 4:13, where *membranas* is used for parchment notebooks. It was, after all, a multilingual and multicultural society, where translations served a strategical purpose and where the first followers of Jesus were capable of providing what was needed. Remember, for example, how St Paul effortlessly switches from Aramaic to Greek and back again in Acts 21:27–39, conversing with a Jewish mob, a Roman officer, and an attentive Jewish audience in the Temple. And by the way, do you know who wrote the following lines?

It was always supposed that Christ talked in Aramaic. Even Renan thought so. But now we know that the Galilean peasants, like the Irish peasants of our day, were bilingual, and that Greek was the ordinary language of intercourse all over Palestine, as indeed all over the Eastern world. I never liked the idea that we only knew of Christ’s own words through a translation of a translation.

The author of these lines is of course Oscar Wilde—another Oxford-trained classicist who gained a double first in Greats and was at Tyndale’s college, Magdalen. You find them in *De Profundis*, written in Reading Gaol. Wilde’s ring, given to his old college, used to lie next to the oldest papyrus of St Matthew’s Gospel, the famous Magdalen Papyrus, ‘P64’.

Tyndale may have been more truly Pauline than was Martin Luther; he may have been a more humble martyr than Huldrych Zwingli, who died in battle; and he may have been a less political animal than Jean Calvin, who did not hesitate to execute liberal opponents like Michel Servet. He died before the English, the British, Reformation was allowed to succeed, but it succeeded, inwardly, not least because of Tyndale and his followers. We all know those famous last words of William Tyndale on his scaffold near Brussels: ‘Lord,

open the King of England's eyes'. God heard that prayer. We could do worse than open our own eyes to the legacy of Tyndale; and in shaping today's and tomorrow's countenance of our own *ecclesia semper reformanda*, we could do worse than follow Tyndale as an uncompromising, clear-sighted and circumspect philologist, analyst, translator, and interpreter of the groundwork of our Christian faith—Holy Scripture.

'Little children, beware of images'

'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry' and the quest for 'Pure religion' in the early Elizabethan Church¹

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On the eve of her coronation, Elizabeth I made a procession from the Tower of London to Westminster. Along the route, she was entertained by five pageants presented in her honour by the City of London. Within nine days of the Queen's entry, a pamphlet was published that describes the procession, and from it we learn that the second pageant was entitled 'The seate of worthie gouernance'. People were costumed to represent virtues which included 'Pure religion' and in the course of the pageant, the virtues 'did treade their contrarie vices vnder their feete, that is to witte, *Pure religion*, did tread vpon *Superstition* and *Ignoraunce*'.² The pamphlet provides us with quite a full description of the pageant,* but some details are not described.³ What symbolism was used when 'Pure religion' tread upon 'Superstition' and 'Ignoraunce'? Was the pageant an ironic parody? Was it, in fact, an iconic endorsement of iconoclasm? Whether or not the pageant was blatantly iconoclastic, it was, nonetheless, a salient reminder to the Queen and her subjects alike that Elizabeth I was the

*The pamphlet fully describes the pageant's use of royal iconography. We are informed that at the top of the pageant 'stoode the armes of England roially portratured' and beneath it sat someone who represented the 'Queenes highnes . . . crowned with an Imperiall crowne' (p. 39). The pageant's use of iconic representations suggests a condemnation of religious iconography as 'superstitious' while royal iconography is endorsed as an appropriate replacement. The pageant anticipates the implementation of the Elizabethan Settlement in parishes throughout the realm as this iconographic reordering took place when rood screens were replaced with the royal arms.

designated heir of Protestant England's aspirations for 'Pure religion' to wield a 'weightie foote' in the establishment of the realm's 'worthie gouernance'.*

The concern about idolatry at the outset of Elizabeth's reign reflects the public's uncertainty about England's religious future. As the nation experienced succeeding reformations throughout the sixteenth century, differing official attitudes towards images were promulgated by those who determined ecclesiastical policy. 'Pure religion', 'Superstition', and 'Ignorance' were key themes that dominated the proceedings of Elizabeth's first parliament, which sat between 23 January and 8 May 1559.[†] Legislatively and liturgically, the Elizabethan Settlement echoed Henrician and Edwardian predecessors for most of its policies, and formularies of faith were adapted from works that had circulated during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI.[‡] A singularly Elizabethan

*The theme of the pageant anticipates the most controversial legislation that was to be decided by Elizabeth's first parliament, but the Queen's positive response to the second pageant suggests her inclinations about the settlement of religion which she was about to undertake. The first pageant was a pæan in praise of the Tudor dynasty, so it is interesting to note that the first mention (or dramatisation) of a political issue is a pageant in which 'Superstition' and 'Ignorance' are suppressed by 'Pure religion'.

[†]Parliament enacted a further English Reformation by restoring 'to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual', which made Elizabeth I 'the only supreme governor of this realm . . . in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes' (I Eliz. c. 1, 'An act to restore to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign powers repugnant to the same'; and I Eliz. c. 1, XIX, 'The Oath of the Queen's Supremacy', in *The Statutes at Large*, vol. 6 [Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1763], pp. 107, 111). 'An act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments' restored (with some significant modifications) the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* as the nation's liturgy (I Eliz. c. 2, 'An act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments', in *The Statutes at Large*, vol. 6, pp. 117–23).

[‡]The Parliamentary legislation, the Injunctions and Visitation Articles rely upon Henrician and Edwardian predecessors. The authorised texts of the English Bible, the 1547 Homilies, Erasmus's *Paraphrases*, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the Articles of Religion were produced in the earlier reigns and had only to be finely tuned before they were implemented by the new regime.

contribution to the developing Ecclesia Anglicana, however, is *The Second Tome of Homilies*, which was initially published in 1563 and authorised to be read in parishes where the clergy were unlicensed preachers.* The 1563 *Homilies* are the product of a restored Church of England and a newly appointed hierarchy that included Matthew Parker, John Jewel, and Edmund Grindal; these men, by experience as well as by generation, were of a significantly new order. They supervised the creation of *The Second Tome of Homilies*, which bears a familial

*In the middle of the seventeenth century, Peter Heylyn quoted both books of *Homilies* extensively in his polemical writings, for he regarded the Homilies as authoritative and doctrinal norms for the Church of England (see chs 7–11, 13–14, 17–18 of *Historia Quinqu-articularis*). Heylyn was unable to determine the origins of *The Second Tome of Homilies* and suggests that they ‘which laboured in this second Book, whither they were the same that drew up the first, or those who in Queen Elizab. time reviewed the Liturgie; or whether they were made by the one, and reviewed by the other, I have no where found, though I have taken no small paines in the search thereof’ (*Historia Quinqu-articularis* [1660], in Wing’s STC 1721, ch. 17, 5, p. 20, sig. Ccc3^v). Gilbert Burnet regarded John Jewel as ‘the much best Writer of Q. Elizabeth’s time’ and one ‘who had so great share in all that was done then, particularly in compiling the Second Book of Homilies’ (*An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* [1699], in Wing’s STC 5791, p. iii, sig. B2^r). Burnet expanded upon Heylyn’s ruminations and mistakenly originated the idea that *The Second Tome of Homilies* had been written during the reign of Edward VI, but could not be published until Elizabeth I came to the throne. He writes that ‘there were two Books of Homilies prepared; the first was published in King Edward’s time; the second was not finished till about the time of his Death; so it was not published before Queen Elizabeth’s time’ (*An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, ibid.*). Burnet’s view is erroneous, and John Strype departs from it in his discussion of a 1560 paper of ‘interpretations and further considerations’ for the inferior clergy (one copy of the manuscript is in the volume entitled ‘Synodalia’ at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and two other copies are in the Petyt Collection, MS 538, 38; fol. 223ff and MS 538, 47; fol. 545ff; and an English translation is also in *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, Volume 111, 1559–1575*, ed. Walter Howard Frere (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1910, p. 60), which records the bishops’ intention of compiling a long catechism (separate from the *Book of Common Prayer*’s catechism) and a second collection of homilies ‘for the erudition of simple curates’ (*Annals of the Reformation*, vol. 1, part 1 [Oxford, 1824], p. 319).

resemblance to earlier authorised religious texts; but as a uniquely Elizabethan volume among the 'Great Books of the English Reformation', the new homilies also tellingly delineate the realm's changed circumstances as the succeeding generation of reformers valiantly began a new attempt to transform England into a Protestant nation.⁴

The framers of *The Second Tome of Homilies* compiled topical sermons to consolidate the aims of the Elizabethan Settlement; their homilies were 'meet for the time and for the more agreeable instruction of the people'.⁵ The earlier *Homilies* from 1547 were mainly concerned with elementary matters of doctrine, and in a catechetical manner, they are a methodical induction into the Christian faith for the whole nation.* *The Second Tome of Homilies*, however, is substantially different in subject matter and in many ways it may be likened to a national courtesy book as the sermons are concerned with such household matters as 'repairing and keeping clean the Church' (Homily 3) and issues relevant to community life such as the homily 'Against Gluttony and Drunkenness' (Homily 5), or 'against excess of Apparel' (Homily 6), or 'Against Idleness' (Homily 19). Doctrinal and liturgical issues are also addressed, but the longest, the most elaborate, and the most argumentative homily is the second, 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches', which is a condemnation of images in churches. In the first publication of the book, this homily takes up one-quarter of the volume. The homily is an attempt by the framers of the Elizabethan Settlement to educate the nation about the errors of traditional religion. Most of it is taken from the second edition of Heinrich Bullinger's treatise *De Origine Erroris in Divorum et Simulacrorum Cultu*. The homily is a lengthy and deliberate attack upon the symbols, rituals, and observances that constituted the rich fabric of traditional religion. Like the pageant produced for the Queen's entry, the homily attacks 'superstition' and 'ignoraunce', vices which are specified as shrines, images, and acts of

*John Wall suggests that the educational structure of the 1547 *Homilies* embody 'Erasmus' theory of education, that people can be educated through motivating them to imitate models' ('The English Reformation and the Recovery of Christian Community in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*', *Studies in Philology*, 80 (1983), p. 157).

popular devotion that must be suppressed by the 'pure religion' of Protestantism's bibliocentrism.

The homily has a tripartite structure. The first section uses scriptural citations to condemn idolatry while the second section continues the refutation with patristic sources. The third and longest section is highly unusual, as it is designed 'to instruct the curates themselves, or men of good understanding', and it may not have been customarily read in parishes in the context of public worship.⁶ The citation of both scriptural and patristic sources as authorities in matters of controversy is a standard rhetorical method in sixteenth-century Church of England polemic. The Elizabethan Settlement reintroduced the vernacular Bible, and its theological method enshrined, once again, biblical authority as the supreme test of doctrine. John Jewel in his *Apologia Pro Ecclesia Anglicana* writes of Scripture as 'the very sure and infallible rule whereby may be tried whether the church doth stagger or err and whereunto all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account'.^{7*} The 'Articles of Religion' stipulate that 'whatsoever is not read therein [Holy Scripture], nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith'.[†] The grounding of the homily's argument in Scripture is consonant with

*Jewel also looks to patristic writings as a source of authority in his apology, and he states that we 'have returned again unto the primitive church of the ancient fathers and apostles, that is to say, to the first ground and beginning of things, as unto the very foundations and headsprings of Christ's church' (Jewel, *op. cit.*, p. 135).

†Article VI, 'Of the Sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for salvation'. The theological method to which I refer is implicit in the earlier Protestant documents in which the primacy of Scripture is maintained as well as the belief that the lucidity of Scripture is obvious to every reader. In his 1540 Preface to the Bible (which was added to the volumes printed in 1539), Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, discusses 'what availeth scripture to be had and read of the lay and vulgar people' where he states that the books of the Bible were written 'so that their special intent and purpose might be understood and perceived of every reader' (Thomas Cranmer, 'A Prologue or Preface made by the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of England', *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. John Edmund Cox [Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1846], pp. 118–25).

the Elizabethan Settlement's aims of 'Pure religion' and a theological methodology committed to the suppression of 'Superstition' and 'Ignorance'.

Superficially, 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches' may seem to be typical Reformation polemic, but when we look at it more closely, the homily's peculiar rhetorical construction becomes glaringly obvious, particularly in its use of

Cranmer's egalitarian ideas about scriptural accessibility were completely antithetical to the Roman Catholic tradition of the day, but we find his sentiment reiterated in all of the formative documents of the English Reformation. The reformers faced the challenge of conveying doctrinal terms and concepts in language that was 'plain and easy to be understood' by the laity, hence the importance of using the vernacular in public worship as the Preface to the First Prayer Book explains:

The seruice in this Church of England (these many yeares) hath been read in Latin to the people, whiche they understoode not; so that they haue heard with theyr eares onely; and their hartes, spirite, and minde, haue not been edified thereby. . . . al thinges shalbe read and song in the church, in the Englishe tongue, to thende yt the congregation maie be therby edified. ('The Preface' of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer: The First and Second Prayer-Books of King Edward the Sixth* [J. M. Dent & Sons, London, 1910], pp. 3, 5)

A Reformed concept of the *consensus fidelium* (if I may be so bold as to call it that) requires higher expectations of the laity to exercise spiritual discernment in order to rightly direct the affairs of the Church. Part of this change is undoubtedly the result of reformations having been effected by parliamentary statute (and therefore the weightiest ecclesiastical issues were placed in the hands of the laity), but the principle is undergirded by a theological foundation that is articulated in authorised religious texts. John Jewel states that the changes in religion 'hath been treated in open parliament, with long consultation and before a notable synod and convocation'. Jewel regards this as logical, for 'in old time, when the church of God . . . was very well governed, both elders and deacons, as saith Cyprian, and certain also of the common people, were called thereunto and made acquainted with ecclesiastical matters' (*An Apology of the Church of England*, pp. 104, 105). The relationship between church and state is fully realised in Richard Hooker's *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Polity*, particularly the eighth book.

Scripture.* In the first part of the homily thirty-two scriptural references are cited in the margins: one is an error; ten of them refer to scriptural quotations cited in the text of the homily; eleven of the marginal references are citations mentioned in the text, but only in passing and the scriptural texts are not quoted; ten of the marginal references direct

*Further evidence of the homily's peculiar rhetorical construction is in eight qualifications that appear at periodic intervals in the lengthy homily. The qualifications, which considerably diminish or obfuscate the homily's purpose may have created confusion for Elizabethan listeners who adhered to traditional devotion. I have discussed the qualifications to the homily's argument in "A leaden mediocrity": Competing views of the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion in *The Stripping of the Altars* and *The Second Tome of Homilies*. The paper was delivered at the Southeastern Renaissance Conference at Duke University 22 March 1996 and will be published in *Renaissance Papers*, 1996.

The homily's curious use of qualifications may be at least partly the fault of Elizabeth I. I follow John Griffiths's hypothesis that a published volume was submitted to Elizabeth I for her approval after both Houses of Convocation had approved *The Second Tome of Homilies* at the 1562/3 Convocation. Griffiths fully explains the rationale behind his hypothesis on pp. xvii–xxii of his introduction to *The Two Books of Homilies* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1859). Elizabeth seems to have hesitated in approving them. The Queen's delay is suggested by Matthew Parker's letter to Sir William Cecil, 'I would gladly the Queen's Majesty would resolve herself in our books of Homilies' (*Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, ed. John Bruce and Thomas Thomason [Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1853], p. 177). Griffiths drew attention to a unique copy of the first edition of *The Second Tome of Homilies*, in the possession of the British Library, shelf-mark C.25.h.3. It seems to have been part of the royal collection George IV subsequently gave to the nation to form the nucleus of the British Museum's collection. At the end of the volume is the list of 'Faultes escaped in the printyng', which is the same as in all the other copies. When Griffiths collated it, however, he discovered that two-thirds of the corrections were not printing errors, but authorial or editorial changes. He also noticed that the copy contains as many as twelve cancel leaves. Griffiths states, 'It is plain therefore that the book had been submitted to a pretty close revision after the sheets were printed off. . . . Some of the corrections were not made by the respective authors, but rather by a committee of review, such as Convocation might have been likely to appoint' (p. xviii). Griffiths also notes that there are five additional cancels where significant alterations were made to the text and one whole

the reader to scriptural citations that serve as a supportive apparatus to buttress the homily's argument, but in the text of the homily itself there is no mention of them.⁸ For the most part, the structure of the homily's argument is organised around ten scriptural quotations which formulate a hodgepodge of proof-texts that condemn idolatry. A lengthy preamble situates the homily within the context of the collection of sermons (as the logical successor to the first homily) and establishes the homily's polemical purpose (with a clarification of terminology that I shall discuss), but Scripture is quoted only once in this section. A parade of proof-texts follow the announcement: 'And, first of all, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, condemning and abhorring as well all idolatry or worshipping of images'.⁹ Deuteronomy 4:1, 2, 9, 12, 15–19, 23–28 are quoted, filling almost two quarto pages of the editions from the 1560s. After this very lengthy quotation, we are

sheet (which is an interesting political statement as it distinguishes between 'policies of princes' and 'ecclesiastical policies') was inserted in the middle of Signature Ccc in 'An Homily of Good Works: and First of Fasting'. Two of the textual alterations are to 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches', and the two changes suggest the hand of Elizabeth I as does the fifth alteration, which removes a citation from St Augustine of Hippo in which he discusses the worthy reception of the Holy Communion. The Queen's intervention is presumed as the subject is connected with Article Twenty-Nine (of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion), which was approved by the 1562/3 Convocation, but suppressed by Elizabeth I at that time. Griffiths concludes: 'These particulars have served to convince me that the unique volume in the British Museum exhibits the Second Book of Homilies exactly in the state in which it was approved by the two Houses of Convocation, and that it is the identical volume which was presented to Queen Elizabeth when her royal assent was asked' (p. xxii).

Many questions surround the 1562/3 Convocation, as the register of the two Houses of Convocation was destroyed in the 1666 fire of London. Other usual sources of information are unhelpful, for as Gilbert Burnet notes, the correspondence between the English prelates and their friends in Zurich comes to a halt at this crucial time, and J. E. Neale has drawn attention to the paucity of all types of records for the 1562/3 Parliament, which sat concurrently with Convocation. In light of the existing evidence, Griffiths's hypothesis about the *Homilies's* publication is the most tenable explanation for the critical changes that appear in the 1563 editions of *The Second Tome of Homilies*.

told: 'This is a notable chapter, and intreateth almost altogether of this matter; but because it is too long to write out the whole, I have noted you certain principal points out of it'.¹⁰ The homily's exegesis of Scripture consists of a summary of what has already been read in order to emphasise the homily's thesis.

First, how earnestly and oft he calleth upon them to mark and to take heed, and that upon the peril of their souls, to the charge which he giveth them; then, how he forbiddeth, by a solemn and long rehearsal of all things in heaven, in earth, and in the water, any image or likeness of any thing at all to be made; thirdly, what penalty and horrible destruction he solemnly, with invocation of heaven and earth for record, denounceth and threateneth to them, their children and posterity, if they, contrary to this commandment, do make or worship any image or similitude, which he so straitly hath forbidden.¹¹

The pattern of the homily is established: scriptural quotation, an emphasis on the portions that support the homily's thesis, or in some cases a precis of what happens next in the quoted Scripture lest any listener should become restless with suspense. Because the quotations are proof-texts, they are largely self-explanatory; the homily provides very little exegesis, and even the commentary that threads the quotations together and assists the listener's interpretation of the texts is minimal.*

In addition to the marginal references that identify a scriptural quotation, there is a second category of eleven marginal references of

*From its lengthy condemnation of images, the homily proceeds to its second point:

Therefore God by his word, as he forbiddeth any idols or images to be made or set up, so doth he command such as we find made and set up to be pulled down, broken, and destroyed. (Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 175)

The development of the second point follows the established pattern of scriptural quotation and emphasis. The commentary encourages iconoclastic acts, but with the interesting qualification that the acts must be sanctioned by the state and not motivated by individual inclination, for civil order must be maintained. 'But, lest any private persons, upon colour of destroying of

biblical citations. The actual citations are mentioned in the text, but only in passing, and the scriptural texts themselves are not quoted. These references serve as a source of recommended readings to direct inquirers who may wish to pursue the issue of idolatry. The homily recognises its limitations and provides reading lists within its text:

Psalm 115 and 134, Esay 40 and 44, Ezechiel 6, Wisdom 13, 14, 15, Baruch 6. The which places, as I exhort you often and diligently to read, so are they too long at this present to be rehearsed in an homily.¹²

Later in the homily a listing from the New Testament is provided.* These citations act like footnotes that validate the homilist's claims. Similarly, a further category of ten marginal references direct the reader to relevant scriptural passages. Unlike the earlier citations, no

images, should make any stir or disturbance in the commonwealth, it must always be remembered, that the redress of such public enormities appertaineth to the magistrates and such as be in authority only, and not to private persons' (Griffiths, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–76). The qualification is informed by topical circumstances as the authorities were concerned that iconoclastic acts at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign had been extreme. The topic was the subject of 'A Proclamation against breakinge or defacing of monumentes of antiquitie, being set up in Churches or other publike places for memory, and not for superstition' on 19 September 1560 (STC 7913 and no. 469 of *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Volume II: The Later Tudors (1553–1587)*, ed. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larking [Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1969], pp. 146–48). The title interestingly makes liberal use of Tyndale's distinction between images for 'memory' and images for 'superstition' (which is discussed later in my article). The section of the homily that encourages iconoclasm is not nearly as developed as the section that condemns images. The homilist explains, 'Infinite places almost might be brought out of the Scriptures of the Old Testament concerning this matter, but these few at this time shall serve for all' (Griffiths, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–77).

*The New Testament list of suggested readings is 'the fourteenth and seventeenth of the Acts of the Apostles; the eleventh to the Romans; the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the twelfth chapter; to the Galathians, the fourth; and the first to the Thessalonians, the first chapter' (Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 177).

mention of them is given in the text of the homily itself; instead they are a supportive apparatus of cross-references that buttress the homily's argument and reinforce John Jewel's concept of Scripture as 'the very sure and infallible rule whereby . . . all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account'.

Rhetorically, the homily is designed as a treatise to be read aloud to a congregation, so it is peculiar that eleven of the biblical citations in the homily are references that are only mentioned briefly in passing and a further ten references are silent markings on the page. The transformation of Heinrich Bullinger's polemical treatise into a homily 'that is meet for the time and for the more agreeable instruction of the people' has not been skillfully executed for generic conventions of public preaching, and the rhetorical restrictions imposed by the congregation of a kingdom have not been given due consideration. Ostensibly, the homily cites thirty-four passages of Scripture in twenty-one quarto pages, but more than two-thirds of these references serve no useful or meaningful function in a treatise designed to be read aloud.*

*Most of the homily is taken from the second edition of Heinrich Bullinger's treatise, *De Origine Erroris in Divorum et Simulacrorum Cultu*, but in being adapted for *The Seconde Tome of Homilies* it bears resemblance to a letter sent by Matthew Parker and other bishops to Elizabeth I. In their letter, the bishops 'renew our former suit . . . that following the worthy examples of the godly princes which have gone before, ye may clearly purge the polluted church, and remove all occasions of evil'. At issue was the crucifix in the royal chapel, a news item that John Jewel had mentioned in his correspondence with Peter Martyr.

That little silver cross, of ill-omened origin, still maintains its place in the queen's chapel. Wretched me! this thing will soon be drawn into a precedent. There was at one time some hope of its being removed; and we all of us diligently exerted ourselves, and still continue to do, that might be so. But as far as I can perceive, it is now a hopeless case. Such is the obstinacy of some minds. (*The Zurich Letters*, ed. and tr. Hastings Robinson [Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1842] p. 55)

In the bishops' letter to the queen, the same biblical texts are discussed as we find in 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry', and numerous patristic

The rhetorical structure of the first part of the homily is a pattern of quoting scriptural proof-texts and interpreting them with minimal commentary. Of the homily's ten proof-texts against idolatry, the most important is 1 John 5:21: 'Little children, beware of images'. It is the

sources (not all of which are identical to the ones discussed in the homily) are cited to further their cause, but the strength of the bishops' argument hinges upon their concern with the reputation of their own integrity and an appeal for continuity with the actions of England's Protestant past.

The establishing of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministries, as builders of the things which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your most godly brother, and such notable fathers as have given their lives for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images. (*Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, ed. John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne [Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1853], p. 94)

The traditionalist obstinacy of the populace was assumed, but the Supreme Governor's oscillation on the issue of idolatry caused the reformers great distress. An unsigned and undated copy of the letter and treatise is at Corpus Christi College Cambridge, MS. 105, art. 11, pp. 201–15^f. Another copy of the letter without the treatise and dated in Edmund Grindal's hand, '5 Feb 1559[/60]' is among the Fairhurst papers at Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 2002, no. 5, fol. 29. John Foxe attributed the treatise to Nicholas Ridley and included the full treatise in an appendix of documents to the 1583 edition of *Acts and Monuments* (STC 11225, vol. 2, pp. 2128–31). The first volume published by the Parker Society was *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, edited by Henry Christmas, who included the treatise among Ridley's works as 'A Treatise on the Worship of Images written by Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London'. Christmas's edition of the treatise is almost identical with the copy that was subsequently published in the Parker Society's edition of the *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, edited by John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne. The treatise by 'Archbishop Parker and others to Queen Elizabeth' contains a few significant additions to the text, and scriptural and patristic quotations are in Latin and Greek, whereas the quotations are in English in the treatise attributed to Ridley. It seems highly unlikely that Ridley wrote the treatise, and the issue is discussed in a review of Christmas's edition of Ridley's works which appeared in *The British Critic*, 31 (1842), pp. 515–17. Christmas's attribution of the treatise's authorship to Ridley seems to have been premised on Foxe's presumed authority on the matter. In their subsequent volume for

homily's first quotation from Scripture where Scripture is used as an example to clarify the terminology the homily uses to define idolatry. In sixteenth-century English translations, the brief verse had generated a controversy of its own, and its presence in 'An Homily Against Peril

the Parker Society, however, Bruce and Perowne did not discuss or clarify the conflict about the treatise's authorship. Patrick Collinson discusses the treatise in 'If Constantine, then also Theodosius: St Ambrose and the Integrity of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30, (1979), pp. 205–29. Collinson suggests three possibilities about the treatise's authorship. 'The first, the least likely, is that Ridley indeed wrote the Treatise against images in 1547. . . . It appears more likely that the Treatise was composed in 1559–1560 and that Grindal or some other correspondent of Foxe supplied him with the Treatise in its Elizabethan form but with the information that it had been prepared from notes left behind by Ridley' (p. 224). Collinson regards the treatise as a precedent for Grindal's 'Book to the Queen' of 8 December 1576 when Grindal refused to suppress the preaching conferences known as 'prophesyings'. Collinson sees a relationship between the two documents and he states that 'the strong possibility remains that Grindal was the compiler of a document which reads like a dry run for his later manifesto' (*Archbishop Grindal 1519–1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* [Jonathan Cape, London, 1979], p. 98).

While there is some resemblance between the treatise against images and Grindal's subsequent 'Book to the Queen', there is a much closer relationship between the treatise against images and 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches'. Indeed, the treatise against images reads like a condensed version of the homily. Both documents share a common argument with its structure and development as well as citations from identical scriptural and patristic sources, which often appear in the same order. According to the 1560/1 bishops' 'Interpretations', the task of writing homilies was to be divided among the bishops, 'every bishop two, and the bishop of London to have four' (*Annals of the Reformation*, 4 vols in 7 parts [Oxford, 1824], vol. 1, part 1, p. 319; see also *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, Volume III, 1559–1575*, p. 60). Grindal was then bishop of London. Although he did not know Bullinger, the two men began to correspond (on 27 August 1566, after the publication of the *Homilies*) about the vestiarian controversy. Bullinger's opinion on the issue was considered authoritative by the dissidents, who expected his support, and the prelates, who published his letter when he surprisingly supported their position. In one of his eleven extant letters to Bullinger, Grindal tells him that when he read Bullinger's treatise *De origine erroris in negotio eucharistiæ ac*

of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches' illuminates some of the complexities involved in 'Pure religion's' task of suppressing 'Superstition' and 'Ignorance'. Jewel's concept of Scripture as an 'infallible rule . . . whereunto all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account' is a problematic process when doctrines depend upon debatable translations of Scripture for their authority.

The basis of opposition between traditionalists and reformers is not whether Scripture condemns idolatry, but rather what is meant by 'idolatry' when Scripture condemns it. The homily's controversial definition is crucial to its argument and it involves the accuracy of scriptural translation. The homilist states:

Note first of all, that, although in common speech we use to call the likeness or similitudes of men or other things images, and not idols, yet the Scriptures use the said two words, *idols* and *images*, indifferently for one thing alway.¹³

missæ (first published 1526) 'about twenty years since, I was first led to entertain a correct opinion respecting the Lord's supper; whereas before that time I had adopted the sentiments of Luther on that subject' (Letter 76, *Zurich Letters I*, ed. and tr. Hastings Robinson [Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1842], p. 182). Grindal's known opinions about images and his familiarity and respect for Bullinger's writings strongly suggest he may have been the translator and compiler of 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches'. (Margaret Aston also sees Grindal as a possible author of the homily; see *England's Iconoclasts*, note to p. 322). If Grindal had indeed been responsible for the second homily, Elizabeth I may have assumed that his involvement in the compilation of *The Second Tome of Homilies* would have made Grindal much more amenable to suppressing the 'prophesyings' and enforcing the public readings of documents that he had helped to create. It would certainly invest with greater meaning his already famous remarks to Elizabeth I: 'But to supply the want of preaching of God's word, which is the food of the soul, growing upon the necessities afore-mentioned, both in your brother's time, and in your time, certain godly homilies have been devised, that the people should not be altogether destitute of instruction: for it is an old and a true proverb, "better half a loaf than no bread"' (*The Remains of Edmund Grindal*, ed. William Nicholson [Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1843], p. 383).

The interchangeability of 'images' with 'idols' hinges upon the reader's acceptance of terms that had evolved over many centuries and had been subsequently translated into two or three different languages. In Hebrew, thirty different words were rendered as '*eidolon*' in Greek, '*idolum*' or '*simulachrum*' in Latin, and 'image' or 'idol' in English.¹⁴ The homilist acknowledges that 'they be words of diverse tongues and sounds, but one in sense and signification in the Scriptures'.*

After hearing a densely stated argument that traces the evolution of the interchangeable terms, congregations then hear their first direct text from Scripture. It is referred to only as 'this place of St John'; whether it is from the Gospel, Epistles, or Revelation attributed to St John is not specified; neither is chapter or verse, for the homilist is more concerned with the gloss to the text than with the text itself.[†]

And Tertullian, a most ancient doctor, and well learned in both the tongues, Greek and Latin, interpreting this place of St. John, *Beware of idols*, 'that is to say,' saith Tertullian, 'of the images themselves,' the Latin words which he useth be Effigies and Imago, to say, an image.¹⁵

If the distinction between 'idol' and 'image' seems a minor quibble today, the issue was highly significant in the sixteenth century. The semantics of 'idol' and 'image' in scriptural translation were the basis

*'The one is taken of the Greek word *eidolon* [in Greek in the text], an idol, and the other of the Latin word *Imago*, an image; and so both used as English terms in the translating of Scriptures indifferently, according as the Septuagint have in their translation in Greek *eidola* [in Greek in the text], and St Hierome in his translation of the same places in Latin hath *Simulacra*, in English *images*. And, in the New Testament, that which St John calleth *eidolon* [in Greek in the text] St Hierome likewise translateth *Simulacrum*, as in all other like places of Scripture usually he doth so translate' (Griffiths, pp. 168–69).

[†]As the 1560 Geneva Bible introduced verse numbers and the Church of England endorsed the Great Bible (reprinted in 1562) until the Bishops' Bible was produced, verse numbers are not specified in the homilies published in the 1560s. The actual citation of the text is 1 John 5:21. In the editions from the 1560s, the citation '1.Joh.5.' appears as a marginal reference six lines above the quotation in the text.

of hermeneutical disputes that fortified the profound theological issues of the Reformation.

The text of 1 John 5:21 is crucial to the homily's definition of *idolatry*. In his 1526 and 1534 New Testaments, William Tyndale translated the text as 'Babes kepe youreselves from ymages'.¹⁶ This was maintained in the 1535 Great Bible and in the 1562 edition that was endorsed as part of the Elizabethan Settlement. The 1560 Geneva Bible, however, translated the text as 'Babes, kepe your selves from idoles' and the margin note reads: 'Meaning from euerie forme and facion of thing which is set vp for anie deuocion to worship God'.¹⁷ The 1568 and 1569 editions of the Bishops' Bible followed the Geneva version. The 1572 Bishops' Bible, however, modified the text: 'Babes, kepe your selues from "idols", Amen'. It is a half-hearted attempt at correction, however, for the word *idols* is placed in quotation marks and in the margin; right next to the word is printed 'Or, images'.¹⁸

The Rhemes New Testament of 1582 was translated by Gregory Martin, an English Roman Catholic living in exile. He rendered the text as 'My little children, keepe your selues from Idols' with the Greek word *eidolon* appearing next to the verse as a margin note. In his 'Annotations' in a lengthy note to the verse, Martin accuses the Protestant versions of deliberately mistranslating *idola* as 'images' in order to 'seduce the poore ignorant people, and to make them thinke, that vwhatsoever in the Scriptures is spoken against the idols of the Gentiles . . . is meant of pictures, facied images, & holy memories of Christ and his Saincts'.¹⁹ The Protestant vacillation between 'idols' and 'images' in the text reveals their fraud so 'that the vworld seeth their vn honest dealing'. Martin then points out the difference between an idol and an image: 'it is most euident that neither euerie idol is an image, nor euerie image an idol'.²⁰ William Fulke, master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, responded to Martin's allegations and stated that the English translations of the Bible were from 'king Henry the VIIIth's time, when images were not in plucking down' and that 'if there were a fault in the former [translations of the Bible], we have amended it in the latter'. Fulke defends the repeated use of the word *image* in Protestant translations of Scripture, but he does concede that 'to a conscience guilty of worshipping of images, contrary to the express commandment of God, the very name of images must needs sound

unpleasantly'.²¹ The homily's insistence that 'idols' and 'images' are 'but one in sense and signification in the Scriptures' is a remarkably controversial claim, but it is the essential foundation to the apparatus of scriptural texts that form the homily's argument.

Fifty years earlier, Sir Thomas More and William Tyndale devoted much energy to linguistic debates,²² for each controversial word was invested with specific theological connotations: word choice indicated doctrinal affiliation.* One of the concepts that concerned More was Tyndale's treatment of 'worship' and what is to be understood by 'worship' compared to 'idolatry'. In short, More followed St Thomas Aquinas and his distinctions between *latria*, *dulia*, and *hyperdulia*.† Tyndale, on the other hand (I almost said '*sed contra est*'), was Augustinian, for he argued that 'the right use, office, and honour of all creatures, inferiors unto man, is to do man service; whether they be images, relics, ornaments, signs, or sacraments, holy days, ceremonies or sacrifices'.²³ Tyndale perceived images as 'not evil' and he tolerates

*More argued in print with Tyndale for in his translation of the New Testament, Tyndale used the English words 'elder' instead of 'priest', 'repentance' instead of 'penance', 'congregation' instead of 'church', and 'love' instead of 'charity'.

†*Latria* is the honour or worship paid to God alone. St Thomas Aquinas discusses it in *Summa Theologiae* 2a2ae.25, 1; 2a2ae.84, 1; 2a2ae.94, 1 (which involves a discussion of 'idolatry'), and 3a.25, 2, 3.

Dulia is the honour paid to creatures by reason of their supernatural excellence. St Thomas Aquinas discusses it in *Summa Theologiae* 2a2ae.103, 1–4.

Hyperdulia is a higher form of *dulia* which corresponds to eminent supernatural excellence in a creature. The veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary is an example of *hyperdulia*. Aquinas discusses it in *Summa Theologiae* 3a.25, 5; 2a2ae.103, 4 (where it is distinguished from *dulia*); 3a.25, 2.

‡Tyndale also writes:

And so, if I make an image of Christ, or of any thing that Christ hath done for me, in a memory, it is good, and not evil, until it be abused. And even so, if I take the true life of a saint, and cause it to be painted or carved, to put me in remembrance of the saint's life, to follow the saint as the saint did Christ; and to put me in remembrance of the great faith of the saint to God . . . and all to strength my soul withal, and my

them as long as they had not been 'abused' as objects of worship. In his 1526 and 1534 New Testaments, Tyndale translated 1 John 5:21 as 'Babes keep youreselves from images'. There is no gloss to the text in the New Testament, but in his *Exposition of the First Epistle of St John* (1531), Tyndale slightly modified his translation as 'Little children, beware of images', and his exposition on this one brief verse is a lengthy discussion of idolatry. Tyndale still maintained that 'images,

faith to God and love to my neighbour; then doth the image serve me, and I not it. And this was the use of images at the beginning, and of relics also. . . . But the abuse of the thing is evil, and to have a false faith . . . this is plain idolatry: and here a man is captive, bond and servant unto a false faith, and a false imagination, that is neither God nor his word. Now am I God's only, and ought to serve nothing but God and his word. (William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, pp. 60–61)

Tyndale is willing to tolerate images because he perceives them as 'not evil' until they have been 'abused'. An 'abused' image is one which is the object of false worship; it has replaced the right worship of God because it has become the object of the worshiper's attention and, as a result, it is no longer a 'memory', a sign of what it signifies. Tyndale's concept of an 'abused' image originates in St Augustine of Hippo's explanation of the 'carnal slavery' of polluted signs when the sign is wrongly worshipped instead of 'the thing it was designed to signify'. St Augustine states, 'He is a slave to a sign who uses or worships a significant thing without knowing what it signifies' (St Augustine of Hippo, *De doctrina christiana*, Book III, ix, in *On Christian Doctrine*, tr. D. W. Robertson, Jr [Macmillan Publishing Company, New York, 1958], p. 86). Elsewhere in *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale discusses More's use of this 'mystical term, *latria*' (see pp. 125–26 of the Parker Society edition).

Shortly after his death, Tyndale's distinction between 'abused' and 'unabused' images became the official policy of Henry VIII. The First Royal Injunctions of Henry VIII in 1536 are justly known because they required every parson to 'provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English, and lay the same in the choir, for every man that will to look and read thereon'. Earlier, however, the Injunctions stipulate 'to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy, crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics or miracles for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any enticements to the pilgrimage of

relics, ceremonies and sacraments . . . [are] memorials and signs of remembrance only', but his emphasis is that 'idolatry is Greek, and the English is image-service: and an idolater is also Greek, and the English an image-servant'.²⁴ Tyndale endorsed a literalist understanding of idolatry, and most of the exposition is a diatribe against traditional devotion. Early in the argument, however, Tyndale stated, 'thou mayest commit as great idolatry to God, and yet before none outward

any saint'. The Injunctions not only endorse Tyndale's cause of a vernacular Bible, they also acknowledge, in terminology akin to Tyndale's, that images can be abused (*Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. 2 [1536–1558], ed. Walter Howard Frere and William McClure Kennedy [Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1910], pp. 9, 5. The Injunctions also refer to the 'Ten Articles' of 1536, which condemn the 'censing of them' ['images' is the term used in the sixth article], and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings' [*Formularies of Faith put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII*, ed. Charles Lloyd (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1856), pp. xxviii and 14]). The 1536 Injunctions forbade new 'images, relics or miracles', but the Second Royal Injunctions of Henry VIII in 1538 (which requires 'one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church') further Tyndale's concept of 'abused' images and endorse the destruction of 'abused' images. The 1538 Injunctions specify (in terms that not only echo, but combine both the 'Ten Articles' and Royal Injunctions of 1536) the acts of devotion that indicate an image is 'abused'. 'That such feigned images as ye know of in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of anything made thereunto, ye shall, for avoiding that most detestable sin of idolatry, forthwith take down' (*Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 2, pp. 35, 38). The Articles and Injunctions, however, generated confusion as the terms of what constituted 'abuse' were considered ambiguous (see John Phillips's discussion, ch. 3, 'Images Undermined', in *The Reformation of Images*, pp. 41–81, and Margaret Aston, 'Henry VIII', in *England's Iconoclasts*, pp. 222–46, but especially 222–25). Neither Phillips nor Aston draw attention to Tyndale's possible influence in these documents as they are more concerned about the roles played by Latimer and Cranmer at this time. Tyndale's concept is an interesting 'via media' between extremes and if his argument affected Henry VIII's opinion on the matter, it would not be the first time that Tyndale's writing met with the King's approval, for Henry is said to have praised *The Obedience of a Christian Man* as 'a book for me and all kings to read' (see David Daniell's discussion of this in *William Tyndale: A Biography*, pp. 242–49).

image, but before the image which thou hast feigned of God in thine heart'.²⁵ In this statement Tyndale displays a very sophisticated understanding of idolatry, which is as concerned with metaphorical idols in the heart of the believer as it is with physical images in churches. Tyndale's metaphorical understanding of idolatry, however, is nowhere to be found in part one of 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches'. The homily is concerned only with the topical problem of physical images in churches, 'the mediation of gilt stocks and stones', and not with the perennial problem of 'the image which thou hast feigned of God in thine heart'.²⁶

The evolving semantics of 'idol' and 'image' in the sixteenth century suggest a profound intellectual shift. Tyndale, as part of the earlier generation of reformers, had a sophisticated understanding of the complexity of idolatry, for he was concerned about metaphorical idols as well as literal images. Tyndale realised that the real issue was authentic worship and that was a much larger problem than statues in churches. The later generation of reformers who shaped the Elizabethan Settlement, however, were almost exclusively concerned with the impropriety of physical images in churches, and they were even willing to risk the loss of their bishoprics when they confronted Queen Elizabeth I about the crucifix in the Royal Chapel.²⁷ Patrick Collinson has characterised the shift as a change from 'iconoclasm to iconophobia'.²⁸ As a document that passed through the hands of the second generation of reformers, 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches' is a quintessentially iconophobic statement. We see this in the homily's bold insistence on 'idol' and 'image' as interchangeable terms—a reading that is essential for the homily's argument to be persuasive, but a reading that was a hotly contested hermeneutical conflict in the sixteenth century.

The intellectual shift from iconoclasm to iconophobia and the linguistic debates on the semantics of 'idol' and 'image', however, are not exclusively theological disputes. The hermeneutical conflicts between traditionalists and reformers had a much wider effect on our language, an effect which is particularly obvious when we glance at Tudor lexicography. Ian Lancashire of the University of Toronto has supervised the creation of *The Early Modern English Dictionaries Database*, which

contains 225,000 word-entries from eighteen works published between 1530 and 1657.²⁹ In 1530, John Palsgrave referred to 'idolatrie' as 'worshipping of ydols'. In 1596, Edmond Coote defined 'idolatrie' as 'false worship'.³⁰ Ostensibly, there is no gaping gulf between the two definitions, but when we look at the words 'idol' and 'image' in proximity to one another, we realise the impact of Elizabethan iconophobia. In 1587, Thomas Thomas wrote, 'An idol, an image: also a vaine vision, a false imagination' and 'an image of mettall, yuorie, or stone: a standing image, idoll, or representation'. In 1599, John Minsheu wrote, 'an idoll, an image to be worshipped'.³¹ In 1563, 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches' maintained that 'the Scriptures use the said two words, *idols* and *images*, indifferently for one thing alway' and by the late Elizabethan period we see the same assumption informing the semantics of lexicographers.

If Tudor linguistic debates seem trivial today, we must recognise, nonetheless, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, doctrinal concepts were inextricably intertwined with the material fabric of the Church. The 1662 *Book of Common Prayer's* catechism defines a sacrament as 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace'. In a similar manner, attitudes toward the material fabric of the Church were usually indicators of an individual's doctrinal allegiance. Traditional historiography has concentrated on the Reformation as an intellectual movement with an emphasis on controversial issues of doctrine. Ritualistic practices and devotional customs have been analysed, but they have been perceived as substantially less significant. Recent revisionist histories indicate that our distinction between doctrine and devotion imposes values that may be misleading in how the process of Reformation was actually experienced in the sixteenth century, particularly by the laity.³² In the same manner that creedal statements and formularies of faith educate the faithful, so too do the ornaments of the Church; its rituals and its devotional practices also contribute to the process of catechesis.

When we look at the writings of the reformers themselves, individuals who were educated and conversant in theological discourse, we discover as much concern with the externals of divine worship as we do with the central tenets of Christian doctrine. The dual concerns can create confusion. It is as though no original theologian existed in

England during the eras of the Reformation, for the polemic is all about where the Communion table should be placed, the importance of a wedding ring, the significance of kneeling, while the important intellectual issues—Eucharistic doctrine, the number and nature of sacraments, the assurance of salvation—seem to become overshadowed, if not obscured, in the complex subtleties of ritualistic minutiae. It is a debate that often seems to be more about ‘outward and visible signs’ than ‘inward and spiritual graces’.

In ‘An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches’ we see the concern for ‘Pure religion’ to establish ‘the true ornaments of the church’ and tread upon ‘Superstition’ and ‘Ignorance’ whose ‘corruption of these latter days hath brought into the church infinite multitudes of images’.³³ The homily’s iconophobic message defended and endorsed the iconoclastic acts which announced the Elizabethan Settlement to the populace. The images may have been stripped from the churches, but idolatry did not necessarily disappear, for as Tyndale warned, there was still the problem of ‘the image which thou hast feigned of God in thine heart’ and that is one form of idolatry which will always threaten the Church, with or without its images.

Notes

1. I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to several individuals and institutions that have assisted me in writing this article. My greatest debt is to my parents, Margaret Buick and the late Samuel Buick, who first introduced me to Tyndale’s works and fostered my interest in Reformation issues. I am also greatly indebted to John F. H. New, with whom I first studied the English Reformation as an undergraduate. Like many of his former students, I have been encouraged by his interest in my subsequent research. Stimulating discussions with Christina DeCoursey and Matthew DeCoursey contributed to the clarification of my ideas in this article. I also thank Anne M. O’Donnell, SND, who read ‘An Homily against Peril of Idolatry’ and annotated portions of the homily with references to the writings of Erasmus, More, and Tyndale. I am most grateful to her, and a full account of these references will appear in the commentary to the critical edition of *The Second Tome of Homilies* that I am presently preparing as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Toronto. I would like to thank Linda Hunter Adams for her meticulous work

in editing my article. I gratefully acknowledge the use I have made of the collections at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto; the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.; and the British Library, the Library of the Inner Temple, and Lambeth Palace Library, London, England.

2. *The Quenes Maiesties Passage through the Citie of London to Westminster the Day before her Coronacion*, ed. James M. Osborn and intro. Sir John Neale (Yale University Press for the Elizabethan Club, New Haven, CT, 1960), pp. 38, 39 (of the modern consecutive pagination in this facsimile copy). The Procession is also commented upon by Richard L. DeMolen, 'Richard Mulcaster and Elizabethan Pageantry', *Studies in English Literature*, 14 (1974), pp. 209–21; Mark Breitenberg, "'... the hole matter opened': Iconic Representation and Interpretation in "The Quenes Majesties Passage"', *Criticism*, 28 (1986), pp. 1–25; John N. King, in *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1989), pp. 174–75; and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992), especially ch. 17, 'Elizabeth', pp. 565–93.

3. The iconographic transformation is discussed by John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1973; see especially ch. 6, 'Compromise', and ch. 7, 'Transition'), and John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*.

4. Many of the Protestant religious texts that were authorised during the Tudor era are discussed in *The Godly Kingdom of Tudor England: Great Books of the English Reformation*, ed. John Booty (Morehouse-Barlow Company, Wilton, CT, 1981). I have borrowed part of this book's title as a useful designation for books that were officially endorsed by those in authority.

5. John Griffiths, ed., *The Two Books of Homilies* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1859), p. 151. I have used the Griffiths edition for ease of reference.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

7. John Jewel, *An Apology of the Church of England* (1564), tr. Lady Ann Bacon and ed. J. E. Booty (University Press of Virginia for the Folger Shakespeare Library, Charlottesville, 1963), p. 30. For an evaluation of the use of Scripture, tradition, and reason as authorities in Anglicanism, see the chapters by Reginald H. Fuller, Henry Chadwick, and A. S. McGrade in part 3, 'Authority and Method', of *The Study of Anglicanism*, ed. Stephen Sykes and John Booty (SPCK, London, 1988).

8. The information about the margin references is not based on Griffiths's edition, but on STC 13663 and STC 13663.3. The margin references are identical in these two copies. I have also consulted the 1623 Folio (there is a facsimile edition prepared by Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup,

1968), which modifies the chapter number for three of the references and omits three further margin references altogether.

9. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

14. I have drawn this information from Margaret Aston's *England's Iconoclasts, Volume 1: Laws against Images* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988), p. 399. See 'Hermeneutic Differences' for a discussion of 'images' and 'idols', pp. 392–400.

15. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

16. STC 2826.

17. STC 2093.

18. STC 2107.

19. *The New Testament of Jesus Christ* (Rhemes, 1582; Scolar Press, London, 1975), p. 687.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 687, 688.

21. William Fulke, *A Defence of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue against the cavils of Gregory Martin* (1583), ed. Charles Henry Hartshorne (Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1843), pp. 182, 189, 206. Fulke examines the issue of 'idols' and 'idolatry' in detail on pp. 100–07 and 179–216.

22. More's criticisms of Tyndale are found in *A Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1528), ed. Thomas M. C. Lawler, Germain Marc'hadour, and Richard C. Marius, in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 6 in 2 parts (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1981). Tyndale's response is found in *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, 1530/1, ed. Henry Walter (Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1850). (This edition will be superseded by the forthcoming Catholic University of America edition of Tyndale's Independent Works, general editor, Anne M. O'Donnell, SND). More's rebuttal (five times the length of Tyndale's *Answer*) is found in *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (1532–1533), ed. Richard C. Marius, James P. Lusardi, and Richard J. Schoeck, in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 8 in 3 parts (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1973). David Daniell reviews the controversy in ch. 10, 'Sir Thomas More' of *William Tyndale: A Biography* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1994).

23. Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, p. 59.

24. William Tyndale, *An Exposition of the First Epistle of St John* (1531), in *Expositions and Notes on Sundry Portion of the Holy Scriptures together with The Practice of Prelates*, ed. Henry Walter (Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1849), pp. 216, 214.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

26. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

27. At the height of the controversy, John Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr:

[A]s far as I can conjecture, I shall not again write to you as a bishop. For matters are come to that pass, that either the crosses of silver and tin, which we have every where broken in pieces, must be restored, or our bishopricks relinquished. (Letter XXIX, *The Zurich Letter A.D. 1558–1579*, ed. Hastings Robinson [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, 1842], p. 68)

The same issue is discussed (in the same volume of letters) by Thomas Sampson, Letter XXVII (pp. 62–65); Richard Cox, Letter XXVIII (pp. 65–67); John Parkhurst, Letter LVII (pp. 128–29). In *The Zurich Letters, Second Series*, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge University Press for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1845), the issue is discussed by Richard Cox, Letter XVIII (pp. 41–42) and in George Cassander's reply to him, Letter XIX (pp. 42–47).

28. Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation*, The Stenton Lecture 1985 (University of Reading, Reading, 1986).

29. I would like to thank D. I. Lancashire of New College, University of Toronto, for granting me access to *The Early Modern English Dictionaries Database* (EMEDD) before it was available on the World Wide Web. The EMEDD contains 225,000 word-entries from eighteen works published between 1530 and 1657. The full database is not yet available to the public, but seven of the lexicographical works are available for free general inquiry on the Web at

<http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/english/emed/patterweb.html>

30. I have used the EMEDD to look at the language in 'An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry and Superfluous Decking of Churches' in a paper entitled 'Resolving Problems in a Critical Edition of *The Second Tome of Homilies* (1563)'. The paper was part of a session on editing electronic texts sponsored by the Consortium for Computers in the Humanities and the Association of Canadian College and University Teachers of English at the 1996 Congress of Learned Societies, Brock University, St Catharines, Ontario, 24 May 1996. The paper will be published in a forthcoming issue of *Text Technology and Early Modern Literature* (a special issue of the electronic journal *Early Modern Literature*, URL: <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/emlshome.html>). Palsgrave, John. *Lesclarissement de la langue francoyse*. 1530. STC 19166. Online. *The Early Modern English Dictionaries Database*. Comp. D. I. Lancashire. University of Toronto. Internet. 21 June 1996. EMEDD citation,

(PL_1530 @847206); Coote, Edmond. *English Schoole-maister*. 1596. STC 5711. (CT_1596@17202179).

31. I obtained these three citations by using the advanced inquiry of the EMEDD: Thomas, EMEDD citation, (TT_87@9585725) and (TT_87@ 13424055); Minsheu, EMEDD citation, (MN_1599@16899242). Thomas, Thomas. *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae*. 1587. STC 24008. Minsheu, John. *A dictionarie in Spanish and English*. 1599. STC 19620.

32. Several recent studies suggest the complexity of the issues, the differences in regions and subtle distinctions on the topic among individual reformers. For studies that examine the situation in England, Aston's *England's Iconoclasts, Volume I: Laws against Images* is indispensable as Aston impressively examines iconoclasm in England from the Lollards to the Elizabethans. The recent revisionists have drawn attention to the issues of idolatry and iconoclasm in their reassessments of the 'success' of the English Reformation. See in particular, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992) and Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993). These studies consistently affirm the importance of how we must properly appreciate subtleties of ritual and devotion in our attempts to understand and interpret the Reformation.

33. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

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D.H. Lawrence and William Tyndale:

Peculiarly Protestant Writers and *The Rainbow*

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I was brought up on the Bible, and seem to have it in my bones', D.H. Lawrence writes. He adds that though he 'did not even listen attentively . . . , language has a power of echoing and re-echoing in my unconscious mind'.¹ Giving more detail at the beginning of his final book, *Apocalypse*, he thinks he was like 'any other nonconformist child' in having 'the Bible poured every day into my helpless consciousness' (p. 59). Though, as he goes on to relate, he emerged from this immersion resenting and rejecting the dogmatic theology that accompanied it, he responded to the King James Bible more powerfully than most of the millions of nonconformist children he groups himself with.² One reason for this was that his was an especially Protestant sensibility. He writes that 'it was good to be brought up a Protestant: and among Protestants, a Nonconformist, and among Nonconformists, a Congregationalist. Which sounds pharisaic. But I should have missed bitterly a direct knowledge of the Bible'.³ He is proud of the ancient tradition of the Congregationalists and rightly links Congregationalism with an especially intense engagement with the Bible.⁴

This heritage makes him arguably the most biblical of twentieth-century writers, as one might infer just from a selection of his titles, from *The Rainbow* through *Aaron's Rod* and *David* to *Apocalypse*. He writes about the Bible, he uses it, he is influenced by it, he has affinities with it, and, as I will show, he even uses the Bible itself as a basis for imagery. So he would probably have relished being linked with William Tyndale, one of the creators of English Protestantism and the father of English biblical translation. And his liking for the creative urge of new religion, so strongly shown in *The Plumed Serpent*, would have made him relish the link still more.

The special usefulness of putting Lawrence together with a man who suffered the fate Lawrence's enemies could give only to his books—burning—lies in certain similarities of temperament. Some of Tyndale's thought and imagery in his writings other than his translations bears enough similarity to Lawrence to illuminate a reading of *The Rainbow*, and to suggest some insights into Lawrence's character as a peculiarly Protestant writer. Conversely, to see in Tyndale some of the qualities of one of the greatest modern masters of English illuminates qualities in his writing.

These connections do not depend on Lawrence's having read Tyndale, but it may be useful to outline here what Lawrence may have known not only of Tyndale but of the history of the English Bible, since Tyndale is the prime figure in that history, and awareness of translation and of the Bible as a book was important to Lawrence as he wrote *The Rainbow*. There is no evidence that he had read Tyndale except as transmuted in the King James Bible. His one reference to him is very possibly secondhand and shows only that he knew Tyndale's name and that Tyndale could be linked with Hugh Latimer as a Protestant martyr.⁵ Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that Lawrence's lifetime coincided with the period of highest literary admiration for the King James Bible. One of the commonest clichés expressing this admiration, 'an English classic' comes strikingly in the preface to the Revised Version Old Testament, published in the year of Lawrence's birth. Ironically, it was the appearance of this version that precipitated the highest period of what I have called AVolatry. And the best-known use of the other major cliché, 'the noblest monument of English prose', comes from the year of Lawrence's death.⁶

During Lawrence's lifetime, interest in the history of Bible translation—and therefore in Tyndale, the first and most important modern English translator of the Bible—was widespread. The year 1911, the tercentenary of the King James Bible, was especially significant. Even if he had learnt nothing through Congregationalism and his later foray into Unitarianism, or through his omnivorous reading, Lawrence, then living in Croydon, could hardly have avoided the awareness that 1911 alone produced.⁷ A major exhibition was mounted in the British Museum, more than a dozen histories of the English Bible were published, and the original King James Bible was handsomely reproduced,

complete with the preface, a history of the English translations, and relevant documents from the translators and their contemporaries.⁸ Even if none of this led Lawrence to read Tyndale, it more than likely helped to produce some of the aspects of *The Rainbow* that I will look at here.

Several remarks reflect Lawrence's awareness of some of the contemporary, nontheological currents of thought about the Bible. His comment that 'our English translation is a proud possession to us' suggests more knowledge than his mere naming of Tyndale, for it has the comparatively rare merit among brief comments on the Bible of not being a cliché.⁹ Characteristic of the early twentieth century is his judgement that the evangelists 'did write novels; but a bit crooked. . . . Greater novels, to my mind, are the books of the Old Testament'.¹⁰ Again the expression is individual: no one else had thought to call these narratives novels.¹¹ Finally, his comments, especially at the beginning of *Apocalypse*, on the way the Bible influenced him also belong to his time.¹²

The Church of Rome claimed to be sole guardian of truth. Tyndale and the other reformers, struggling to free themselves from Rome, found two alternative sources of truth, the word of God as given in the Bible, and the word of God as given in the heart of the believer.¹³ Lawrence, as a Congregationalist, inherited both these beliefs. However, belief in the Bible was difficult to maintain as his religious sense moved away from Christianity—'by the time I was sixteen I had criticised and got over the Christian dogma'.¹⁴ Lawrence sums up his own situation in describing Jack, hero of *The Boy in the Bush*: 'He never really connected the bible with christianity proper, the christianity of aunts and clergymen. He had no use for christianity proper: just dismissed it. But the bible was perhaps the foundation of his consciousness'.¹⁵ Remaining temperamentally but not dogmatically a nonconformist, Lawrence gave greater weight to the word of God in the heart.

As a pioneer translator, Tyndale was absolutely committed to the word of God in the Scriptures. Perhaps because of a natural diffidence about his own work, he also laid special stress on the word of God in the heart. But what is most striking is that he writes of acting 'within

the law of God' in a remarkably similar vein to Lawrence, even down to an earthiness that Lawrence would have appreciated:

As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the law of God, in faith, and with thanksgiving to God; and understand that thou in doing them pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the law of God, as when thou makest water. And trust me, if either wind or water were stopped, thou shouldest feel what precious thing it were to do either of both, and what thanks ought to be given to God therefore. Moreover, put no difference between works; but whatsoever cometh into thy hands that do, as time, place and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low.¹⁶

In other words, the pure working of a kitchen-page is as pleasing to God as the preaching of an Apostle. He adds that 'there is not a good deed done, but thy heart rejoiceth therein . . . ; thine heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in thy breast, that God is honoured' (p. 101). C.S. Lewis, who would not be alone in thinking Tyndale 'the best prose writer of his age', observes that 'for him, just as God's literal sense is spiritual, so all life is religion: cleaning shoes, washing dishes, our humblest natural functions, are all "good works"'.¹⁷ He might as justly have been describing Lawrence.

One thinks of Lawrence's insistence that 'the most precious element in life is wonder'. He sees it, for instance, in the purely concentrated activity of 'an ant busily tugging at a straw; in a rook, as it walks the frosty grass'. Wonder is 'the religious element inherent in all life, even in a flea . . . it is the *natural* religious sense'.¹⁸ For Lawrence, wonder is, saving only the reference to the Christian God, exactly Tyndale's religious joy in the purity of being or doing. Lawrence may emphasise being, especially in flowers, rather than the doing that Tyndale singles out, but an ant or a rook or a flea—or the religious crow sailing across the sky in *Sons and Lovers*, or the animals of 'Birds, Beasts and Flowers'—are purely themselves in activity.¹⁹ So too is Morel in *Sons and Lovers*. Immediately after noting that 'he had denied the God in him', Lawrence shows occasions when this 'God in him' is not denied, occasions when he *works*. The children 'united

with him in the work, in the actual doing of something, when he was his real self again' (p. 88). So too are the Brangwen men in the first pages of *The Rainbow*, or Mellors, seen almost for the first time by Connie engaged in 'vulgar privacies', so part of her mind thinks, 'vulgar privacies' much like making water, merely washing himself, yet having 'a certain beauty of a pure creature'.²⁰ In all such pictures there is a sense that 'the thing that is done without the glowing as of god, vermillion, / were best not done at all'.²¹

Lawrence could see work as 'the clue to a man's life', but often his portrayal and discussion of work is negative because, in the world as he sees it, work is corrupted.²² 'One of the greatest changes that has ever taken place in man and woman', he writes in a significantly titled article, 'Men Must Work and Women as Well', 'is this revulsion from physical effort, physical labour and physical contact, which has taken place in the last thirty years'.²³ It is part of his larger diagnosis of the sickness of modern humanity, a diagnosis that includes his sense of the destructiveness of living merely from the brain, living the mental life that is so starkly attacked in, for instance, chapter 4 of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. In this too he is like Tyndale, for Tyndale's insistence on the spirit was also part of the early Protestant reaction against the intellectual sterility of medieval scholasticism. Equally scornful of the mind, Tyndale rejoices in his heart that his fellow-martyr John Frith walks 'in those things which the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain'.²⁴

Such general links identify Lawrence as an archetypal Protestant. They also lead to a close connection between the two men. The scholastics had used images such as shell and kernel to distinguish between the literal and allegorical levels of the Bible. Such images were favourites with Tyndale, but he used them in a way that is close to Lawrence's use of them in *The Rainbow*:

The scripture hath a body without, and within a soul, spirit, and life. It hath without a bark, a shell, and as it were an hard bone, for the fleshly-minded to gnaw upon: and within it hath pith, kernel, marrow, and all sweetness for God's elect, which he hath chosen to give them his Spirit, and to write his law, and the faith of his Son, in their hearts.²⁵

The images explore the relationship between inner truth and outer deadness which is so central to *The Rainbow*. Moreover, one of these images was used in the preface to the King James Bible to describe translation as a process 'that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel'.²⁶ This too connects with *The Rainbow*. As part of his portrayal of different states of life and the movement between them, Lawrence uses 'translation' along with a variety of other words beginning with 'trans', including 'transformation', 'transfiguration', 'transported', 'transcendent' and 'transplanted'.²⁷ These have a good deal of synonymity, for the key idea is crossing, and they are linked with the shell and kernel range of images, giving a sense of a new life within the old.

This imagery first occurs in the opening pages of chapter 6, 'Anna Victrix'.²⁸ Lawrence seems to be discovering new, particularly useful implications of 'shed away' as he describes Will Brangwen's sense of the change wrought by his wedding to Anna:

But [Will] was strange and unused. So suddenly, everything that had been before was shed away and gone. One day, he was a bachelor, living with the world. The next day, he was with her, as remote from the world as if the two of them were buried like a seed in darkness. Suddenly, like a chestnut falling out of a burr, he was shed naked and glistening on to a soft, fecund earth, leaving behind him the hard rind of worldly knowledge and experience. There it lay, cast off, the worldly experience. He heard it in the huckster's cries, the noise of carts, the calling of children. And it was like the hard shed rind, discarded. Inside, in the softness and stillness of the room, was the naked kernel, that palpitated in silent activity, absorbed in reality. (pp. 134–35)

This creates the meaning for Lawrence's two most significant uses of 'translated', which come in the next few pages. First, when Will slips on some clothes and goes downstairs to fetch some food, Anna 'lay translated again into a pale, clearer peace. As if she were a spirit, she listened to the noise of him downstairs, as if she were no longer of the material world' (p. 136). Then, soon after, 'he was translated with gladness to be in her hands' (p. 139). To use the root meaning of 'translated' and of what might have been a more obvious word, 'transported', both Will and Anna have been carried across from the

ordinary conditions of the material world to a new, separate state of gladness.

That Lawrence uses 'translated' here rather than 'transported', seems to me no accident. For us it is metaphorical, but it coincides with Tyndale and the King James translators' literal use of it in their versions to mean 'carrying across'. In Colossians, God 'hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son' (1:13). And in Hebrews, 'Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God' (11:5).²⁹ It is important for Lawrence that these uses of 'translated' should involve going across to the kingdom of God.

Lawrence's use of imagery associated so closely with the relationship between Bible text and truth brings out another aspect of *The Rainbow*. The way the characters respond to the text of the Bible helps to characterise them. Lydia, Anna's Polish Catholic mother, 'had gone to the Church of England for protection', and Lawrence notes that 'the outward form was a matter of indifference to her. Yet she had some fundamental religion', which is 'the subtle sense of the Great Absolute', but which 'never found expression in the English language' (p. 97). In a sense she is a pre-Reformation figure, knowing religion only in the ignorant way of, to take a phrase from the same sentence, 'strange mystic superstitions' that Tyndale sought to release his countrymen from.

Lawrence turns immediately to Anna, 'only half safe within her mother's unthinking knowledge', and relates her 'strange passion' in response to the 'Ave Maria'. But 'it was not right, somehow. What these words meant when translated was not the same as the pale rosary meant. There was a discrepancy, a falsehood' (p. 98). Many people felt exactly the same discrepancy in response to Tyndale's vernacular Bible, and there was a strong desire to have the English Bible reflect the established biblical language of the Vulgate.³⁰ At this stage Anna too is an essentially anti-Protestant figure:

She became an assiduous church-goer. But the *language* meant nothing to her: it seemed false. She hated to hear things expressed, put into words. Whilst the religious feelings were inside her, they were passionately moving. . . . The sense of the falsity of the spoken word put her off. (p. 99)

This resistance to the husk, the spoken word that Tyndale gave to the English and that echoed and re-echoed in Lawrence's unconscious mind, remains with her all her life and is one of the sources of conflict between her and Will.

Will's attitude to the Bible, now specifically the King James Bible, is defined in response to Anna's jeering at his soul. Now like a post-Strauss, post-Renan rationalist, she attacks the truth of Jesus' first miracle, leaving Will torn between the truth of fact and 'the desire for affirmation' (p. 160).³¹ Tyndale could affirm that the literal truth was spiritual, but Will cannot reconcile the two, and he chooses something like the spiritual:

. . . he would live in his soul as if the water *had* turned into wine. For truth of fact, it had not. But for his soul, it had.

'Whether it turned into wine or whether it didn't,' he said, 'it doesn't bother me. I take it for what it is.'

'And *what* is it?' she asked, quickly, hopefully.

'It's the Bible,' he said. . . .

And yet he did not care about the Bible, the written letter. . . . He took that which was of value to him from the Written Word, he added to his spirit. His mind he let sleep. (p. 160)

Will, religious but no theologian, cuts a rather pitiful figure. He has, tenuously, half of Tyndale's position. And Anna, appearing now so contradictory to her earlier position, is contradictory not through conviction but through reaction.

Will and Anna's daughter, the romantic young Ursula, more closely engaged with the word of the text than any of her forebears, comes closest to Tyndale. The text that is so vital to her development and to the failure of her affair with Anton Skrebensky, follows immediately on this: 'in church, the Voice sounded re-echoing not from this world, as if the church itself were a shell that still spoke the language of creation' (p. 256). The capitalisation of 'Voice' invokes the voice of God. Moreover, though Lawrence may not have had this in mind, 'the language of creation', that is, the original language, was often thought to be Hebrew.³² Like Will's, her response is divided between fact and desire, but she can accept the division, and so 'she lived a dual life, one where the facts of daily life encompassed everything, being legion, and

the other wherein the facts of daily life were superseded by the eternal truth' (p. 257).

'The non-literal application of the scriptures' (p. 258) that she reverts to after considering another text is really Tyndale's literal sense, that is, the spiritual sense. In effect, she translates the literal into the spiritual, moving from husk to pith exactly in keeping with Lawrence's use of this kind of image to distinguish the world of everyday reality and the eternal world of truth, now symbolised as 'the Sunday world'. My use of the image of translation here is not fanciful. Moving into a new phase, 'she demanded only the week-day meaning of the words': 'the vision should translate itself into week-day terms' (p. 264). This is the start of that false period in her life that leads in the end to her destruction of Skrebensky and her near self-destruction before the promise of rebirth at the end, where the images of shell and kernel, and of the rainbow, combine in promise of what will come. Lawrence is explicit about her misreading of the Bible: 'for whereas Christ spoke for the Vision to answer, she answered from the week-day fact. It was a betrayal, a transference of meaning, from the vision world, to the matter-of-fact world' (p. 266). For all that her earlier nonliteral application of the Scriptures had been part of her juvenile romanticism, it had a fundamental soundness that Lawrence endorses both here and in the long progress of her story. This soundness is based on love for the sweet pith within. The end of the novel presents not only images from the Bible but also phrases that remind us of what the Bible is to believers, 'the creation of the living God' (p. 458), 'a living fabric of Truth' (p. 459). Ursula's final vision is a kind of translation, as the husk is swept away and the word of God is left.

Images of husk and pith applied to writing suggest a separation between form and content, and it may seem strange that two of the masters of English prose should think in terms that devalue their medium. In Tyndale's case this may seem especially strange because, like all the major translators, he paid scrupulous attention to the letter. Yet, as a pioneering translator, he was understandably wary of having too much weight placed on his words, and, as I have shown, he coupled the truth of the text with the truth felt in the heart. The text was all-important to him as he translated, but it was not the be-all and end-all of truth.

The Bible itself may be thought of as demanding this kind of attitude. One is to search the Scriptures, yet they themselves are full of repetition that constantly invites the reader to go through the text to the truth that is not in but behind the text. So the most important story of all, the Gospel story, is told four times, inviting the reader to construct a single, separate truth. Similarly, Hebrew parallelism constantly suggests that a variety of verbal forms may be given to anything that is to be expressed.

Lawrence shares this sense of the relationship between text and truth. *The Rainbow's* structure and style are largely repetitive. Even his habit of revising by rewriting wholesale suggests a quasi-biblical relationship between several texts and a single truth. Rather as there are three synoptic Gospels, so there are three versions of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. I don't wish to press this too hard. One can take the shell and kernel image differently and see the process of composition as a process of revealing the kernel, which is the accomplished work of art. Lawrence thought this way as he set out to rewrite 'The Sisters' (an early version of *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*) in February 1914: 'you know that the perfect statue is in the marble, the kernel of it. But the thing is the getting it out clean'.³³ Nevertheless, there is a similarity to biblical repetition, a similarity most obvious in that essential characteristic of Lawrence's style, the building-up of meaning that gives such a strong sense of a mind alive and moving, and constantly makes the reader share the writer's wonder of discovery in something beyond the word.

Something of the same quality is to be found in Tyndale's prose. His description of Scripture quoted earlier reflects a mind moving and willing to accumulate a variety of forms to bring the reader through to the kernel. He begins with a proposition, 'the scripture hath a body without, and within a soul, spirit, and life'. The last words suggest that a single word is not enough. The passage goes on, building up its truth through a variety of images, and coming at last to the place where both Lawrence and Tyndale rest, the heart: 'within it hath pith, kernel, marrow, and all sweetness for God's elect, which he hath chosen to give them his Spirit, and to write his law, and the faith of his Son, in their hearts'. The likeness between Lawrence and Tyndale is visible also in a similarity of style. Each implies that the kernel of truth is to be found through the shell of an accumulated variety of words. This is one more link in their association as peculiarly Protestant writers.

Notes

1. 'Introduction to *The Dragon of the Alchemist* by Frederick Carter'; D.H. Lawrence, *Apocalypse and the Writings on Revelation*, ed. Mara Kalnins, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980), pp. 54–55.

2. Though an increasing number of rival versions were available in Lawrence's lifetime, only the Revised Version, published in the year of his birth, was a real alternative to the King James. There was huge interest in it when it was first published, but it did not dislodge the King James as the principal version, and Lawrence hardly used it.

3. D.H. Lawrence, 'Hymns in a Man's Life' (1928); D.H. Lawrence, *Phoenix II*, ed. Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore (Heinemann, London, 1968), p. 600.

4. Jessie Chambers was intimate with the youthful Lawrence and shared his Congregational background. One of her recollections serves to illustrate both the devotion to the Bible and the relative openness to new ideas among the ministers and some of the flock. The minister and her father

used to have long and animated discussions about the authenticity of the Bible. The minister offended mother when he said in his bright way that the story of the Garden of Eden was just a beautiful fairy-tale to explain the beginnings of life on earth to simple people. Mother protested with warmth:

'If you will doubt one part of the Bible you will doubt all', and thereafter went to bed, leaving the men to discuss the Bible until the small hours. (*D.H. Lawrence: A Personal Record*, 2nd ed. [Cass, London, 1965], p. 17)

5. D.H. Lawrence, *Movements in European History* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989), p. 174.

6. The history of AVolatry is given in my *A History of the Bible as Literature. Volume II. From 1700 to the Present Day* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993), see chs 5, 7, 8, and 10. John Livingston Lowes used 'the noblest monument of English prose' as the title for an essay in his *Of Reading Books: Four Essays* (Constable, London, 1930). I trace the origins of such phrases and show their commonness in, particularly, ch. 7.

7. Even before he began to read extensively in religious books, Lawrence had probably read Dean Farrar's 'The Literature of Religious Criticism'. This gives some sense of the results of Higher Criticism, quotes both Heinrich Heine's rapturous response to a day's reading of the Bible and T. H. Huxley's recommendation that the Bible should be retained as a schoolbook, and finishes

with a damnation of a book Lawrence was later to read, Ernest Renan's *Vie de Jesus*. Farrar's essay was published in Richard Garnett, ed., *The International Library of Famous Literature*, 20 vols, 7 (London, 1899), pp. xi–xxix. James T. Boulton has argued that Lawrence 'was and perhaps remained greatly indebted to this astonishing anthology' (Bolton *et al*, eds, *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence*, 1 [Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, etc.], p. 6).

8. Only one of them was from a readily identifiable denominational source, W. Melville Harris's brief and poor *The Light-Bringers: The Story of the English Bible* (Congregational Union of England and Wales, London, 1911). Congregationalists' special interest in historical and cultural aspects of the English Bible is further suggested by the appearance in this same year of William Lyon Phelps's 'The Debt of English Literature to the Bible', in *The Congregationalist and Christian World* (11 March 1911).

9. Lawrence, *Movements in European History*, p. 179.

10. Lawrence, 'The Novel', in *Phoenix II*, p. 418.

11. The obvious antecedent is Richard Green Moulton's *The Literary Study of the Bible*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1899). He observes 'that the Bible is made up of epics, lyrics, dramas, essays, sonnets, philosophical works, histories, and the like' (p. v). In a spirit that links him with imagery to be followed here, he goes on to argue that the 'underlying principle' of the 'morphological analysis . . . is that a clear grasp of the outer literary form is an essential guide to the inner matter and spirit' (pp. v–vi). The popularity of this work and Moulton's similar *Modern Reader's Bible* (1895, etc.) make it quite possible that Lawrence had read one or both. If so, Moulton may have been echoing in his mind when he wrote in relation to *The Rainbow*: 'A book which is not a copy of other books has its own construction, and what [Arnold Bennett] calls faults, he being an old imitator, I call characteristics' (*Letters*, 2, p. 479). Moulton had similarly transformed standard ideas of faults in this comment on Job: 'he would be very perverse reader who should cry out against these characteristics of *Job* as literary faults: on the contrary, they are evidence that the character of the work is insufficiently described by the terms drama and discussion' (p. 40).

12. See Norton, *From 1700 to the Present Day*, ch. 8, sec. 1.

13. Tyndale's sense of these two sources of truth is discussed in my *A History of the Bible as Literature. Volume I. From Antiquity to 1700* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993), pp. 88–93; see also p. 197. William Chillingworth's much-quoted exclamation, 'the BIBLE, I say, the BIBLE only is the religion of Protestants', is, as often as not, a half-truth (*The Religion of Protestants: A Safe Way to Salvation* [Oxford, 1638], p. 375).

14. Lawrence, *Phoenix II*, p. 599. 'Sixteen' is an exaggeration. John Worthen chronicles Lawrence's continued involvement with Christianity and

concludes that 'sometime between 1906 and 1907 he abandoned his "rather deep religious faith"' (*D.H. Lawrence: The Early Years, 1885-1912* [Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991], p. 175; pp. 169-75).

15. D.H. Lawrence and M. L. Skinner, *The Boy in the Bush*, ed. Paul Eggert (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990), p. 141.

16. William Tyndale, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*; Henry Walter, ed., *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Cambridge, 1848), p. 100.

17. C.S. Lewis, 'The Literary Impact of the Authorised Version', in *They Asked for a Paper* (Bles, London, 1962), pp. 34, 33.

18. Lawrence, 'Hymns in a Man's Life', in *Phoenix II*, pp. 598-99.

19. D.H. Lawrence, *Sons and Lovers*, ed. Helen Baron and Carl Baron (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989), p. 291.

20. D.H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, ed. Michael Squires (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993), p. 66.

21. D.H. Lawrence, 'For the Heroes Are Dipped in Scarlet', in *The Complete Poems of D.H. Lawrence*, ed. Vivian de Sola Pinto and F. Warren Roberts (Heinemann, London, 1964), p. 689.

22. Lawrence, 'The Combative Spirit', in *Complete Poems*, p. 519.

23. Lawrence, *Phoenix II*, p. 584.

24. Letter to Frith; John Foxe, *The Actes and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. Josiah Pratt, 4th ed., 5 (London, 1877), p. 133.

25. Tyndale, 'The prologue to the prophet Jonas', in *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 449. Cf. pp. 398-400. For a discussion of this image and related terms, see D. W. Robertson, Jr, 'Some Medieval Literary Terminology', *Studies in Philology*, 48 (1951), pp. 669-92. Tyndale's views are placed within the context of changing ideas of the literal level of the text by G. R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Road to Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985), pp. 49-50.

26. 'The Translators to the Reader', unfoliated, 3rd page. Again there is no direct evidence that Lawrence had read this, but the preface was available in, for example, A. W. Pollard's 1911 facsimile of the King James Bible (Oxford University Press, Oxford).

27. D.H. Lawrence, *The Rainbow*, ed. Mark Kinkead-Weekes (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989). Some page references: 'transformation', pp. 32, 260, 272, 300, 386; 'transfiguration', pp. 38, 284, 298, 409, 432; 'translated', pp. 98, 136, 139, 264; 'transported', pp. 149, 186, 188, 202, 301; 'transcendent', pp. 299, 377, and 'transplanted', pp. 331, 388. The remaining words of this sort are 'metamorphosis' (p. 38), 'transgressed' (p. 106), 'transitiation' (p. 187), 'transit' (p. 188), 'transference (of meaning)' (p. 266), 'transparent' (p. 431), 'transient' (p. 431), 'transfused' (p. 438) and 'transience' (p. 454).

28. Lawrence had used shell imagery before, for example, *Sons and Lovers*, pp. 349–50, but not in the same way.

29. Here only the first ‘translated’ is found in Tyndale; emphasizing his literal sense of the word, he uses ‘taken away’ for the second ‘translated’ and for ‘translation’. The one other use of ‘translate’ in the King James Bible is also literal, ‘to translate the kingdom from the house of Saul, and to set up the throne of David’ (2 Samuel 3:10).

30. See Norton, *From Antiquity to 1700*, for example, p. 115.

31. Rationalist attacks on miracles have a long history; here Will and Anna act out a characteristic late-nineteenth-century conflict somewhat similar to that recorded by Jessie Chambers (see n. 4 above). Lawrence would have known of David Strauss’s position in his *Life of Jesus* that all miracles are impossible, if from nowhere else, then from Farrar (7, p. xxvii). Ernest Renan’s view was the same but for a split hair: ‘We do not say, “The miracle is impossible.” We say, “So far, a miracle has never been proved”’ (*Life of Jesus; The History of the Origins of Christianity*, 7 vols, 1 [London, 1888], p. liii). I suspect Lawrence did not read this part of Renan’s work. It is from the introduction, which is missing from William G. Hutchison’s translation (*Renan’s Life of Jesus* [London, 1897]); that this was the version Lawrence used is suggested by Jessie Chambers’s recollection that he disparaged the book for giving ‘Jesus according to the likeness of Ernest Renan’ (p. 112). This echoes Hutchison’s own introduction: ‘the Jesus with whom he presents us is a Renanised Jesus . . . —a Jesus . . . who in many features resembles M. Ernest Renan’ (p. xxx). The chapter ‘Miracles’ implies the same point: ‘Time has changed that which constituted the power of the great founder of Christianity into something offensive to our ideas’ (Hutchison, p. 162).

32. See Norton, *From Antiquity to 1700*, p. 233 and n.

33. Lawrence, *Letters*, 2, p. 146.

Another Chapter in the History of the English Bible

The Bible in English [CD-ROM]. A full-text database for literary, linguistic, and biblical studies. Published by Chadwyck-Healey.

The Bible in English is an invaluable resource for researchers in every period of English literature and language. It brings together, in a single database, a carefully selected and representative collection of major editions from the entire thousand-year history of the English Bible. The editions have been chosen specifically to meet the needs of scholars of English literature and the history of the English language. (Chadwyck-Healey, *The Bible in English*, 1996)

To be able to compare and contrast text, woodcut, and annotation changes across many editions of English Bibles and New Testaments, simultaneously and all at one desk, is something to get excited about.

Chadwyck-Healey's *The Bible in English* targets the researcher, but its great strength lies in making accessible, for the first time on CD-ROM, a range of Bibles that nonspecialists may not even be aware of. It draws attention to the importance of biblical texts in English to the development of English-speaking cultures worldwide. Biblical texts are immensely important in the history of idea change and exchange across the world, and the English Bible is itself a product of international exchanges. Chadwyck-Healey have made commonly accessible a wealth of treasure for our rediscovery and have provided the means by which we can begin to unlock some of those previously unsearchable answers to ignored questions.

Supported by expert editors, Chadwyck-Healey present a chronological range of representative biblical texts in English, from the West-Saxon Gospels to the Good News Bible, which claims to be highly accurate;

Chadwyck-Healey assure us that their method of double-keying by different operators, a comparison program, and manual proofing 'guarantee the highest level of accuracy in the conversion'. But how careful and representative is this selection of texts? How accurate is it and how far can it meet the needs of researchers?

Anyone familiar with the *English Poetry* database will find most features of *The Bible in English* CD-ROM familiar. The tool bar enables the user to access help, activate windows, select a text from the versions menu, save or print text and reports, and move manually through the full text of a version in a variety of ways using the accelerator keys. All windows, once they have been loaded from the Versions menu, can be reduced to space-saving icons. Open files can be tiled horizontally or vertically so that multiple texts can be viewed simultaneously, or in cascade mode for consecutive viewing. Such features make on-screen text comparison very quick and easy indeed.

The database also has a wide variety of search options ranging from Go To and Table of Contents manual searches to the more sophisticated Command Line search. Biblical text, notes, and apparatus are searched through by default, but it is possible to limit a search to text or notes and apparatus. In the Standard Search window, the Browse menu allows you to select 'Renaissance' for texts from 1530–1611, and 'Old Testament' for searching all the books of the Old Testament. This is quick and easy to do.

Not so quick is the search itself, but as you wait a box displays the total hits being generated, processed, and retrieved. At any time, you may interrupt a search to initiate a new one, or to redefine or narrow a search's parameters. An interrupted search yields only partial results. When a search is allowed to proceed to completion, findings are revealed in a 'Summary of Matches', which gives the number of hits by book and version. Choosing Open Text from the Context of Matches reveals selected matches, highlighted within the full text. The Browse option, available in any search mode, enables you to search all likely spellings of a word, using Boolean operators, but the absence of automatic concordance makes defining searches rather laborious.

The database retains the typographic conventions of original texts. Its manual warns that *u* can take the place of *v* and vice versa, that *vv* can take the place of *w*, *i* for *j*, and *y* for *i*: 'You can search for these

variants by selecting them from the browse index and connecting them with Boolean operators. . . . Alternatively, square brackets and wildcard characters can be used'.

I would not argue with Chadwyck-Healey's decision to retain original spelling as far as possible. In the case of databases, however, an argument can be made for replacing *vv* with *w* and *v* with *u* if this would enable faster searches and more accurate retrieval, which are, after all, prime functions of a database.

There are further hindrances to fast and effective searching. Not all versions share the same verse divisions. The Sawyer Bible, for instance, has a unique division of chapters and verses, and Tyndale's New and Old Testament translations, Coverdale's Bible, Becke's Bible, and the Great Bible do not have verse numbers at all. This creates problems for the synchronisation of text. In the case of the Sawyer Bible, synchronisation is possible only at the book level.

The Skeat editions of the West Saxon Gospels and the Forshall and Madden editions of the Wycliffe texts have versification, which enables immediate synchronisation. It would have been immensely useful to have been provided Renaissance texts with ghosted verse numbers. As it is, the potentially powerful synchronisation facility is disabled by the most important texts in Chadwyck-Healey's CD-ROM collection. The best that synchronisation can offer Tyndale, Coverdale, Becke, and the Great Bible is synchronisation at chapter level, and this increases the timescale even of simple searches.

A random check across the database reveals a high level of textual accuracy, though more sustained checking through whole books exposes some worrisome errors. The Renaissance texts already have some errors in the originals, typographical, or otherwise. Such errors can be very interesting in themselves, and there are strong arguments for retaining them in printed editions, provided the errors are pointed out to readers, but electronic databases need to have accurate text.

Becke's revision of the Matthew Bible, though generally considered a fair printing, contains many errors. Chadwyck-Healey not only keep Becke's errors but add some of their own: I found twenty-nine word errors in Isaiah, six in Daniel, and three in Hosea. In Becke's text of Daniel 10:16, Daniel declares, 'O my lorde, my joynts are lowsed in the vision, and there is no more strength within me'.

The database has Daniel's 'pointes' being 'lowsed'. At Isaiah 18:5, the database has 'But the frutes were not yet type cut of'. In Isaiah 21:17, those 'good Archers of Cedar' become 'good Arthers of Cedar'. In the database version of Isaiah 26:21, the Lord is coming to 'vpset' the inhabitants of the earth. In Isaiah 31:5, Becke gives 'Lyke as the byrdes flotre about theyr nestes, so shall the Lord of Hostes, kepe, save, defend and delyver Jerusalem'. The database gives us 'brydes'. For all its wonderful search capabilities, the database will not find text that has been misspelt or mistaken in the conversion process.

All of the texts are in a uniform typeface and as such are infinitely more legible to the unpractised eye than the typefaces of early Renaissance texts. However, to help students appreciate the visual spectacle of a Renaissance Bible, I should have liked one or two scans of the original pages with woodcuts, text, and margins in place.

In the full-text window the user will notice a range of icons situated within the text and at the beginning and end of chapters. These represent Chadwyck-Healey's attempts to indicate approximate locations of woodcuts, notes, cross-reference, running-heads, and tables in the original. Hyperlink windows appear when any of these dedicated icons is accessed. Files of large scans can take several minutes to print or to open for display on screen, and during these operations the rest of the database is immobilised. Particularly unhelpful is the way that notes are printed in a stack at the end of each page. In early Renaissance texts without alpha and numerical indexing, annotation relied upon its situation in margin space proximate to relevant passages.

Texts chosen for the database are wide in range, but not necessarily the most helpful to students. The West Saxon Gospels are selected from the 1871, 1874, 1878, and 1887 editions by Walter Skeat; prefatory matter and various readings from the Skeat editions are omitted. The Wycliffe Versions are from the Forshall and Madden 1850 edition; again various readings and manuscript references are omitted. The William Tyndale New Testament is the 1534 November translation. While the brochure makes token reference to the 1526 translation as the 'first printed version in English', no indication is given about the many differences between the 1526 New Testament and the 1534 version offered here. The 1526 text would be a welcome addition to the database, facilitating research on Tyndale as a reviser of his own work.

I should like to have seen George Joye's 1534 New Testament on the database also. Without Joye's New Testament it will be difficult for students to grasp the significance of 'William Tyndale, yet once more to the Christian reader', which prefaces Tyndale's 1534 New Testament. Only with both Tyndale and Joye on the database can a student assess to what extent Joye was justified in his *Apology* when he insisted not only that his corrections had been approved by Tyndale, but that Tyndale had also incorporated them into his own 1534 revision. Tyndale's Pentateuch of 1530 and Jonah of 1531 are from first editions in the Cambridge University Library collection, as is the New Testament.

Miles Coverdale's 1535 Bible is the British Library's Holkham copy, with supplemental material from the Cambridge University Library, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. The Great Bible offered is the April 1540 edition. Again it would be useful to have Coverdale's revision work of 1537 and 1539 for comparison.

The decision to present the 1549 Becke Bible, a late revision of the Matthew Bible, instead of the 1537 Matthew Bible, is surprising. The 1537 edition occupies an important place in biblical and literary history in being the first printed English Bible to have comprehensive annotational helps for readers, and in representing the hitherto unpublished Tyndale translations of Joshua–2 Chronicles. Since the database in no way reproduces the visual effect of the printed Bible page, the user will not be alerted to the fact that Becke's major changes are typographical and topographical, or that Becke's handling of notes, woodcuts, and text is inconsistent. Without the 1537 Matthew Bible on the database, I cannot assess the extent to which Becke reprints or adapts the Matthew Bible notes for his 1549 readers, nor can I discuss the historical implications of those changes.

The Bishops' Bible is a Cambridge University Library edition, while the Rheims–Douai edition of 1609–1610 in two volumes printed by Kellam supplies the Old Testament, and the 1582 Rheims New Testament printed by Fogny completes the Catholic representation among the Renaissance texts. The Geneva Bible is arguably the most important reference for literature students attempting to trace sources for biblical allusions. Cheap and widely available in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries, the Geneva Bibles were often the reference for many great writers in English of that period. The edition presented here is not the 1560 first edition but is that of 1587. The CD-ROM brochure does point out, though the user manual does not, that 'this revised edition of a text first published in 1560 contains Laurence Tomson's version of the New Testament with additional notes, first published in 1576'.

Such entries at least alert the user to the fact that there are substantial differences between what are loosely termed 'Geneva Bibles'. The inclusion of William Whittingham's 1557 New Testament would have proved extremely useful to a student attempting to assess the extent to which the Geneva Bible revisers (of which Whittingham himself was one) overturned Whittingham's earlier changes to Tyndale's text and reinstated Tyndale's 1534 New Testament choices.

These necessary and interesting avenues of exploration can be pursued only by many hours of collation with special collection items, usually in dimly lit libraries that threaten early blindness. The database could have been immensely useful here, but the present CD-ROM edition lacks far too many important texts for it to be of enormous use to Renaissance Bible researchers; nonspecialists will find it a very helpful resource. In consideration of its more likely customers, the database should include more information about each version and some helps to avoid pitfalls in interpretation of data, such as the fact that John Bale's *Image of Both Churches* was not available to readers of the Matthew Bible's first edition. Some prefatory articles in the database or in the accompanying manual would suffice.

I have especially noted problems with the Renaissance Bible collection in light of Chadwyck-Healey's claim that 'particular attention has been given to the Renaissance period'. Completing the selection of Renaissance Bibles is the King James 1611 AV, the so-called 'He' version, owing to a printing error in Ruth 3:15 in the first edition.

Among the remaining texts supplied by this CD-ROM database is the English portion of Daniel Mace's 1729 Greek and English New Testament, with the omission of the notes. Richard Challoner's work is represented by his revisions to the Rheims-Douai Bible, a 1750 Old Testament translated from the Latin Vulgate, and a 1752 third edition of his New Testament. John Wesley's *Explanatory Notes upon the*

New Testament, printed by William Bowyer in 1755, is included, as is John Worsley's 1770 *New Testament or New Covenant* with notes 'by which even they, who do not understand the Original, may often judge for themselves the justness and propriety of the translation'. Noah Webster's Bible (1833), the Leicester Ambrose Sawyer *New Testament* (1858), the *Twentieth-Century New Testament* (1904), the *New English Bible* (1970), and the *Good News Bible* (1976), complete the list of textual selections.

No attempt has been made to supply any texts in original languages, or even Greek and Hebrew concordances. Bible and language students need these to judge whether revisions of Bibles indicate a movement towards greater concern with philology or in fact a greater consideration of target audiences. At the moment students cannot do this using the database alone.

There are two final important considerations to bear in mind: the cost of the equipment required to run the CD-ROM and the cost of the CD-ROM itself. Chadwick-Healey's *Bible in English* requires an IBM PC 386 (at least), 8MB RAM (at least), 10MB of hard disk space (at least), a high density floppy-disk drive, DOS version 3.3 or higher, Microsoft Windows version 3.1, and a high-speed CD-ROM drive. It currently retails at £1250, which is far too expensive for the research students it targets. Its market is more likely to be school, university, and public libraries, where it will provide an excellent first acquaintance with English biblical texts.

Vivienne Westbrook
University of Manchester

A Call for Applications

A National Endowment for the Humanities summer seminar for college teachers; seminar title, 'The English Reformation: Literature, History, and Art'; date and location, 9 June to 1 August, 1997, at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio



BRINGING TOGETHER literary, historical, and artistic concerns, this interdisciplinary seminar will consider different phases in the English Reformation, a major watershed in the development of English culture and national identity. Topics will include the historical nature of literary texts and will include selections from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

The Department of English at Ohio State University is eager to welcome members of the seminar, who as visiting faculty will enjoy full access to facilities. OSU research collections are among the largest in this country, with rich holdings in English Renaissance and Reformation primary and secondary texts. Comfortable lodgings are available for participants.

Applications are welcome from college teachers and independent scholars specializing in the literature and cultural history of the English Renaissance and Reformation and to historians of religion, politics, art, and music. Participants must have a Ph.D. degree, but they may not teach in programs that grant the Ph.D. Time will be reserved for individual research and other projects related to the seminar's common concerns. Participants are expected to remain in residence for the duration of the program and will receive stipends of \$4,000.

Please direct enquiries to Professor John N. King, NEH Summer Seminar, Department of English, Ohio State University, 164 West 17th Ave., Columbus, OH 43210-1370; office telephone: 614-292-6065 (attention Kevin Lindberg); home telephone: 614-875-1761 (attention Kevin Lindberg); e-mail: Lindberg.2@osu.edu

The Tyndale Society



THE TYNDALE SOCIETY, INAUGURATED IN JANUARY 1995, aims to explore and spread abroad the significance of William Tyndale's achievement in light of English and continental history, theology, Bible studies, literature, language, translation theory, and art; to provide a forum for discussion, in print and in meetings, for ideas and presentations of all kinds related to these fields; to encourage research; and to raise monies to further all such work.

Having become aware of the size and diversity of interest in Tyndale and the matters of his time, we invite everyone interested in the Society's aims to join. We welcome any suggestions, ideas, or offers, of any kind, and we exist to make them known.

All members of the Society receive its quarterly journal, which contain news of events, research, and publications. Members can also receive this annual publication, REFORMATION, in their membership fee.

Patrons: His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Runcie of Cuddesdon, Baroness James of Holland Park, Dame Iris Murdoch, Ted Hughes OBE, Revd Dr WMS West; *Chairman:* Professor David Daniell; *Secretary:* Mrs Priscilla Frost; *Treasurer:* Mr Peter Baker; *Administrator:* Miss Rochelle Givoni; *Journal Editor:* Dr Hilary Day.

Subscriptions and all enquiries should be sent to the Secretary, The Tyndale Society, 10B Littlegate Street, Oxford OX1 1QT; tel: (01865) 791515; fax: (01865) 794695.

COMING EVENTS

1 OCT 1997—Fourth Lambeth Tyndale Lecture

29 JAN–1 FEB 1998—First Pacific Coast Tyndale Conference (papers are called for; details from Dr Barry T. Ryan, Point Loma Nazarene College, 3900 Lomaland Dr, San Diego, CA 92106; tel: (619) 849-2288; e-mail: ryan_HP@ptloma.edu)

6–10 SEP 1998—Third Oxford International Tyndale Conference (theme: Tyndale's early years; details from Tyndale Society secretary)

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